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James G. Blaine

AUTHORIZED EDITION.

THE
BIOGRAPHY
AND
PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

GIVING A FULL ACCOUNT OF
TWENTY YEARS IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

BY
HUGH CRAIG, M. A.

ILLUSTRATED.

H. S. GOODSPEED & CO.
NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

1884.

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For Bert
Guelyn Heath

from the library of
Dr. L. F. Schmauss

TO

MRS. GARFIELD

AND HER CHILDREN

THIS WORK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

IN writing a biography of one who has for so many years held a prominent position before the public, the task of the author has been to condense the wealth of material at his command. For over a quarter of a century Mr. Blaine has taken an active part in politics, and this period comprises the most important years through which the Republic has passed. The anxieties of the war, the difficulties of reconstruction, the perplexing questions of finance and public economy, have all occupied his attention. For his views on all these capital points, and countless others which came up in this eventful epoch in the nation's life, we have had recourse to the authoritative record of his opinions, *The Congressional Record*, from which we give copious extracts, omitting, wherever possible, anything that seemed of merely transitory interest, but studiously preserving those expressions of opinion which have a bearing on the questions which agitate the public mind to-day. This part of our book will, we trust, be valuable as a collection of political maxims by an experienced statesman on the weightiest topics, as well as of speeches which are always clear and forcible, and rise often to the highest oratorical excellence. Regarding Mr. Blaine's public life, we have exten-

PREFACE.

uated naught, and set down naught in malice ; our object has been to place before our readers the truth, and leave them to draw their own conclusions.

With respect to Mr. Blaine's private life, the publishers have had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Orville D. Baker, of Augusta, Maine, who enjoys an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Blaine, and has had the use of his memoranda and papers. Many of his other neighbors in Augusta, and hosts of friends from all sections of the country, have been prompt to communicate any information in their possession. To these kind friends, and especially to Mr. Baker, our sincere thanks are due, and are herewith respectfully tendered. Their assistance has enabled us to shed a new light on the early life and struggles of the present Republican candidate for the Presidency.

We must ask indulgence from our readers for any imperfections they may discern. We have not sought for literary excellence, but endeavored to give "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

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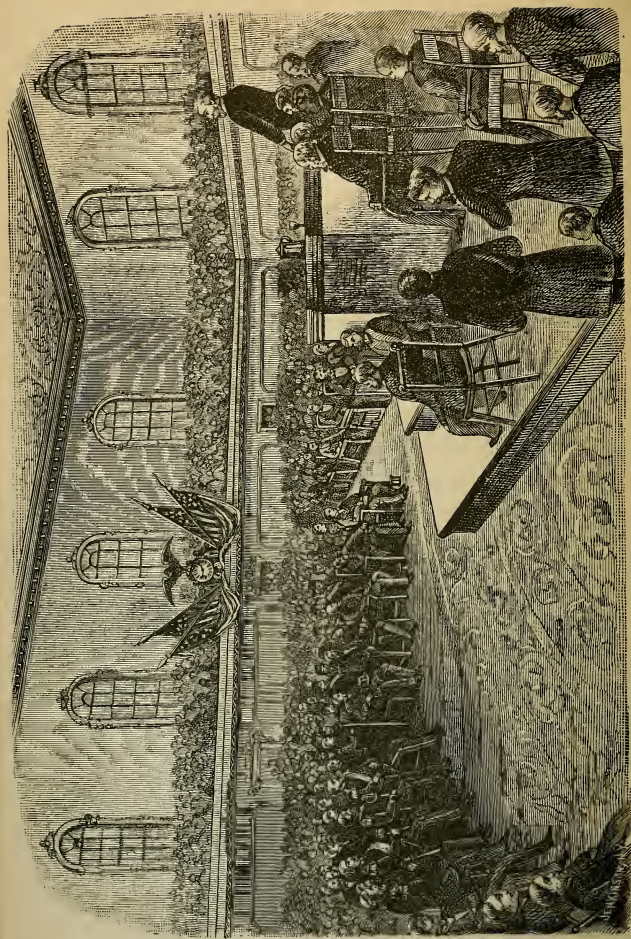
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HON. JAMES G. BLAINE DELIVERING THE GARFIELD MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

BIOGRAPHY OF HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY, BIRTH, AND EARLY LIFE.

The first of the Blaines in America.—Settling in Western Pennsylvania,—Birth of the fifth lineal descendant.—His father a man of wealth and culture, but of extravagant habits.—Beauty and genius of his mother.—Colonel Ephraim Blaine, Purveyor-General of the Army of Pennsylvania.—Providing food for starving soldiers.—West Brownsville.—Mr. Blaine's reminiscences.—Boyhood.—Early education and training.—Literary advantages at home.—Hon. Thomas Ewing.—Practical political training.

FIFTY-FOUR years before the Declaration of Independence, an adventurous Scotchman brought the name of Blaine into Western Pennsylvania. He brought also what made the name worthy, his Scotch Presbyterianism—which, if it was as hard as the nether mill-stone, was also as firm and enduring—and something of the thriftiness and perseverance of his native thistle. Fifty-four years after the Declaration of Independence there came into the world the fifth lineal descendant of the first settler, who, in his fifty-fourth year, has received the nomination of the dominant party for the highest office in the Union.

The grandfather of the subject of this sketch, from whom he derives his Christian name, was James Blaine, a man of leisure, who had traveled extensively in Europe, and had the responsible duty of bringing from France to this country important diplomatic despatches during the early days of the nation. He left seven children, the eldest of whom, Ephraim,

was a man of brilliant talents. To this Ephraim and to Maria Gillespie his wife, was born on the last day of December, 1830, at West Brownsville, Washington County, Pennsylvania, a son who bears the name of James Gillespie Blaine. The blood was good on both sides—the best in the Monongahela Valley—Scotch-Irish, which for half a century had flowed from loyal American hearts. Ephraim Blaine inherited all the blessings that went with the name with the thriftiness left out. He was a fine-grained, high-spirited gentleman, with the cultivation and polish of an educated man of the world. He had, moreover, what seems to have been a family trait—a sort of masterly quality, which made him a leader in society and in politics. His popularity was attested by his election in a Democratic county to a high judicial office, though he was himself an ardent Whig. But money slipped through his fingers as easily and rapidly, and apparently with as little concern to himself, as sand slips through the fingers of children. His fortune was originally considerable, and with careful management might have made him a millionaire. One of his real estate transactions is of historical interest. In 1825 he sold to the Economites, for a consideration of \$25,000, the tract of land upon which the city of Pittsburgh is built. Right royally did this gay spendthrift spend his own and his wife's property. His extravagant habits, and especially his fine tandem team—a novelty at that time in those parts—led Mr. Neal Gillespie to speak of him as “my gig and tandem son-in-law.” When he came to die, so the story goes, he had not enough left to pay the cost of his burial. When this fact was made known to his distinguished son in later years, he paid as a debt of honor the money which his father's friends had contributed to give him a decent burial. Maria Gillespie, by common consent of all who knew her, was a woman of rare beauty and remarkable genius. She belonged to a family who were as ardent Catho-

lies as the Blaines were stalwart Presbyterians, and she remained to the last a faithful worshiper in the church of her fathers, and led a consistent Christian life. Her children were all baptized in the Catholic Church, and after the departure from home of her famous son, her husband also became an occasional attendant at the same church. Her great natural talents were multiplied and sharpened by use. Her tact and prudence were called into frequent requisition in the management of temporal affairs, for which her husband had neither taste nor ability, and there was thus developed in her a spirit of independence and an equipoise of character not common among women. She was proud but courteous in her bearing, winning all by the sweetness and strength of her character, commanding all by the imperiousness of her will, which flashed its behests in the lightnings of her piercing eye. The gift of genius came to Mr. Blaine from his mother. She gave her life not for him, but better than that—she gave it to him, and her beneficent love, her watchful care, her wise training are lasting benedictions upon the life she gave. Like so many great men before him—like the Gracchi—like Napoleon, Mr. Blaine may lay all his chaplets down on his mother's grave, and bowing there in silence, whisper to the spirit of the dead that may hover near, "Thou didst deliver unto me five talents; lo! I have gained other five talents."

The most distinguished member of the Blaine family before the present generation was Colonel Ephraim Blaine, who was closely associated with Washington in many trying scenes of the Revolution. As Purveyor-General of the Army of Pennsylvania, it was his duty to furnish food and clothing for the troops. Often—yes, always—it was a difficult duty, but it was never undone while hope and means could either be found or made. His services on many occasions endeared him to the half-fed, half-clothed, but whole-hearted men who fought the

battles for independence. Many a weary and foot-sore patriot who followed Washington through the Alleghanies, fearing less the armies of England than the terrible gnawing of hunger within, had reason in hours of direst distress to bless the name of Ephraim Blaine. "For God's sake send us supplies; we are out of bread," wrote General Washington to Colonel Blaine. "Send me money to meet my debts," came back the echo. The money did not come, but the food did, and Mr. Blaine paid for it out of his own pocket, like the true devoted patriot that he was.

"In this great field of patriotic duty," writes a friend from Pa., "Colonel Blaine won a splendid reputation. Through himself and immediate friends he was able, at different times, when the Continental treasury was empty, to advance large supplies of money toward purchasing supplies for the army; and during the terrible winter at Valley Forge, Washington attributed the preservation of his troops from absolute starvation to the heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of Colonel Blaine. The high esteem with which Colonel Blaine was held by Washington and his great patriotic leaders in the Revolution was attested by numerous letters from them, official and unofficial, still in the possession of Colonel Blaine's descendants in this State. It is yet one of the pleasing local traditions of Carlisle that in 1793, when the Whisky Insurrection arose in the western counties, President Washington, accompanied by his Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments, Hamilton and Knox, on their way to the scene of the trouble, halted for many days at Middlesex as the guests of Colonel Blaine, and while there heard of the dispersion of the insurgents and returned to Philadelphia. Their visit was the occasion of the most lavish hospitality and old-fashioned merry-making, and was long remembered with pleasure by the generation of Carlisle residents who have just passed away."

The birthplace of a great man is always invested with peculiar interest ; by a sort of instinct we go back to the place where the cradle was rocked to ask the secret of the manhood's strength and fame. We seek to know what were the surroundings of his earlier years ; what influences of cloud and sky, of field and of air, of mountain or valley or level plain did their unconscious part in the molding of character and in giving to the genius of the boy that "form and pressure" which in the man commanded the admiration of his fellows.

West Brownsville is a little, old-fashioned town in the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania. The lofty Alleghanies rise majestically above it, mighty, unchanging sentinels of rock, that, stern and unyielding in their strength, stand serene in the midst of every storm, wanting only a human tongue to speak to men of fidelity, of power, and of security beyond the reach of harm, while the broad, deep Alleghany flows beside it, carrying the message of the mountains to the Gulf.

A playmate tells a story of Mr. Blaine's boyhood which shows what thoughts often occupied his mind amid these scenes of grandeur and beauty. They had ascended Krepps' Knob, and while looking up the winding river and away into Virginia, James said : "That's the end of the world and I'm going there some day."

The old Gillespie homestead on Indian Hill, which Mr. Blaine's father occupied after his marriage, is a two-story building of irregular shape, resembling in its ground plan the letter W. A large portico in front commands a beautiful view of the Monongahela, and at the rear, twenty miles away, rise the peaks of the Alleghanies.

What Pittsburgh is to-day Brownsville hoped to have been, and in the days when the National Road was the great

thoroughfare westward, the smile of destiny seemed prophetically to rest upon this busy town. The boats she made sailed in almost all the waterways of the States, and were everywhere sought as the best ; but with the introduction of railroads the glory of Brownsville departed, and Pittsburgh became the great commercial centre of the section.

Not many years ago Mr. Blaine, already in the full tide of his fame, visited his birthplace and roamed over the old house from roof to cellar, fondly lingering in the room where he first saw the light, and living over again in thought and fancy those days when time for him marched with a laggard step, when dreams of future greatness lightened and brightened the tasks and the trials of boyhood life.

A letter, written upon the occasion of the Washington County Centennial, in September, 1881, reveals his deep attachment for the place of his birth, and his loyal interest and pride in its history.

“WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 5, 1881.

“JOHN D. McKENNAN :

“*Dear Sir*,—I had anticipated great pleasure in being present at the centennial celebration of the erection of Washington County, but the national sorrow which shadows every household detains me here.

“I shall perhaps never again have the opportunity of seeing so many of the friends of my youth, and so many of my blood and kindred, and you may well conceive my disappointment is great.

“The strong attachment which I feel for the county, the pride which I cherish in its traditions, and the high estimate which I have always placed on the character of its people, increase with years and reflection. The pioneers were strong-hearted, God-fearing, resolute men, wholly, or almost wholly, of Scotch or Scotch-Irish descent. They were men who,

according to an inherited maxim, never turned their backs on a friend or an enemy.

“For twenty years, dating from the middle period of the Revolution, the settlers were composed very largely of men who had themselves served in the Continental army, many of them as officers, and they imparted an intense patriotism to the public sentiment.

“It may be among the illusions of memory, but I think I have nowhere else seen the Fourth of July and Washington’s Birthday celebrated with such zeal and interest as in the gatherings I there attended. I recall a great meeting of the people on the Fourth of July, 1840, on the border of the county, in Brownsville, at which a considerable part of the procession was composed of vehicles filled with Revolutionary soldiers. I was but ten years old, and may possibly mistake, but I think there were more than two hundred of the grand old heroes. The modern cant criticism which we sometimes hear about Washington not being, after all, a very great man, would have been dangerous talk on that day and in that assemblage.

“These pioneers placed a high value on education, and while they were still on the frontier struggling with its privations they established two excellent colleges, long since prosperously united in one. It would be impossible to overstate the beneficent and wide-spread influence which Washington and Jefferson Colleges have exerted on the civilization of that great country which lies between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River. Their graduates have been prominent in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench, and in the high stations of public life. During my service of eighteen years in Congress, I met a larger number of the alumni of Washington and Jefferson than of any other single college in the Union.

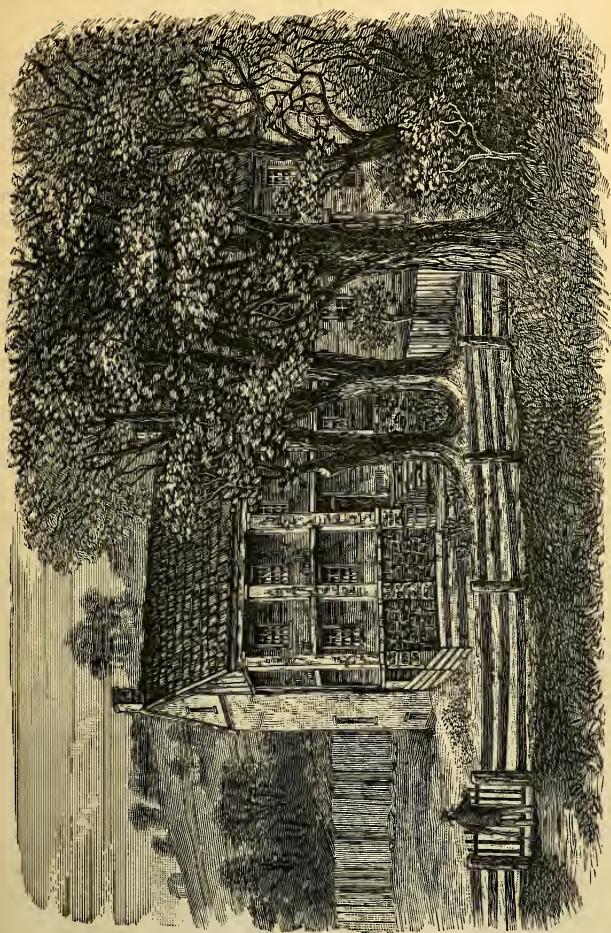
“I make this statement from memory, but I feel assured

that a close examination of the rolls of the two Houses from 1863 to 1881, would fully establish its correctness. Not only were the two colleges founded and well sustained, but the entire educational system of the county, long before the school tax and public schools, was comprehensive and thorough. I remember that in my own boyhood there were ten or eleven academies or select schools in the county, where lads could be fitted for college.

“In nearly every instance the Presbyterian pastor was the principal teacher. Many who will be present at your Centennial will recall the succession of well-drilled students, who came, for so many years, from the tuition of Dr. McCluskey, at West Alexander, from Rev. John Stockton, at Cross Creek, from Rev. John Eagleson, of Buffalo, and from others of like worth and reputation.

“It was inevitable that a county thus peopled should grow in strength, wisdom and wealth. Its sixty thousand inhabitants are favored far beyond the average lot of man. They are blest with a fertile soil and with a health-giving climate, which belongs to the charmed latitude of the fortieth parallel, the middle of the wheat and corn belt of the continent. Beyond this they enjoy the happy and ennobling influences of scenery as grand and as beautiful as that which lures tourists thousands of miles beyond the sea. I have, myself, visited many of the celebrated spots in Europe and in America, and I have nowhere witnessed a more attractive sight than was familiar to my eyes, in boyhood, from the old Indian Hill Farm, where I was born, and where my great-grandfather, the elder Neal Gillespie, settled before the outbreak of the Revolution.

“The majestic sweep of the Monongahela through the foot of the Alleghanies, with a chain of mountains, but twenty miles distant, in full view, gave an impression of beauty and sublimity which can never be effaced.



"I talk thus familiarly of localities and of childhood incidents because your assemblage, though composed of thousands, will, in effect, be a family reunion, where the only thing in order will be tradition and recollections, and personal history. Identified as I have been, for twenty-eight years, with a great and noble people in another section of the Union, I have never lost any of my attachments for my native county and my native State. The two feelings no more conflict than does a man's love for his wife and his love for his mother. Wherever I may be in life, or whatever my fortune, the County of Washington, as it anciently was, taking in all the State south and west of the Monongahela, will be sacred in my memory. I shall always recall with pride that my ancestry and kindred were, and are, not inconspicuously connected with its history, and that on either side of the beautiful river, in Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, five generations of my own blood sleep in honored graves. Very sincerely yours,

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

In the little Catholic burying-ground of Brownsville, close to the church is a plain granite monument, erected by Mr. Blaine, over the graves of his father and mother; the pedestal bears this inscription:

EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE,

Born Feb. 28, 1796.

Died June 28, 1850.

MARIA GILLESPIE,

WIFE OF

EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE,

Born May 22, 1801.

Died May 5, 1871.

Requiescant in Pace.

Below this in large letters is the word "Blaine."

Parents who added to abundant means a fine literary culture, carefully provided for the education of Mr. Blaine, and spared him the privations and hardships of an early and premature struggle with the world in hand-to-hand encounter. Like other boys, he was awkward and diffident, full of boyish mischief, and presumably enjoying his fair share of abuse as the loyal disciple of Old Nick. He worked on the farm, pulled weeds, brought in wood, and did all the delightful things that fall to the lot of a boy. One of his duties was to carry butter and eggs to market, and it was noticed that, no matter how numerous or complicated his little trades might be, he always came out right in his reckoning; so that it became a common saying, among the marketmen, that young Blaine would surely be a rich man. He had also an unusually keen discrimination, even for a boy, in selecting the occasions upon which he could do the most mischief and have the most fiendish delight with least risk to himself.

One day, an unwary Welshman who, in some unguarded moment had offended the boy, was peacefully occupied in digging a well. Master James happening that way, and taking in at a glance the bearings of the situation, immediately treated the well-digger to a shower of stones and dirt. The complaint of the irate Welshman contained, among other indictments, one to the effect that the boy had too much *spurt* (spirit). At five years of age, James began to go to school. He started with the United States spelling book and Robinson Crusoe. His first two teachers were Miss Mary Ann Graves, now Mrs. Johnson, and Mrs. Matilda Dorsey.

He began very early to develop a great fondness for books. He would devour them with as much zest as other children do candy. Before he was eight years old he had read Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, and at nine he had gone through Plutarch's *Lives*, repeating the stories as he went along, to his grandfather Gil-

lespie. His reading was carefully directed, and he thus early acquired a taste for good books, especially for histories. His father was a man well informed on all the topics of the day, and maintained to the last an active interest in the political movements of the country. The best magazines and newspapers were always on his library table, and often prominent men from various parts of the country passing to and fro on the National road, brought to his pleasant home the charm of their presence and the freshest news from the great centres of political life. In those days the stories of the Revolution were learned not from the pages of books, where they had been chilled into print, but as they fell from the lips of those who had felt the prick of British bayonets, who had seen the smoke of battle, and heard the roar of musketry and cannon on many hard contested fields. There was in them a reality that stirred the heart of youth, and kept the fires of patriotism ever burning in those who did not remember the war.

In such an atmosphere Mr. Blaine grew up. Is it any wonder then that he is intensely American in all his opinions. A man who heard the first echo of the revolutionary guns, and who knew the horrors and the cost of the civil war, if there were a drop of patriotic blood in his veins, could not but feel and show in all he said and did a whole-souled loyalty to the doubly-consecrated Union.

His education thus began well. He was the best speller in school. "That boy of Mr. Blaine's" could "spell down" a whole row.

His memory was phenomenal. Names, dates, incidents, stories of battles, facts of all kinds, once in his head, found no loop-hole to get out. Besides his two lady teachers, there were four men who at different times acted as his instructors—Albert G. Booth, Solomon Phillips, and Campbell Beall and Joshua V. Gibbons. Mr. Gibbons, who in his personal appear-

ance nearly resembled Abraham Lincoln, once visited Mr. Blaine at Washington, and occupied a seat of honor by the Speaker's chair.

In 1841, James, then a lad of eleven years, was sent to live for a year at the home of Hon. Thomas Ewing, at Lancaster, Ohio. There, together with his cousin, afterwards General Thomas Ewing, he was under the instruction of William Lyons, an Englishman, and uncle of Lord Lyons, who was the British Minister to this country during the late war. Mr. Ewing was then Secretary of the Treasury. The "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign had resulted in a triumph for the Whigs; the inauguration of President Harrison followed in March, 1841, and his Cabinet was formed, with Daniel Webster at the head, and Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Ewing was an ardent Whig. After achieving distinction at the bar, he had entered public life, and had already served several terms in the Senate of the United States. He was an admirer and friend of Henry Clay, and had warmly espoused the protective principles of the great Whig leader. In April, 1841, only a month after his inauguration, President Harrison died, and John Tyler, the Vice-President, succeeded him. The old Cabinet, including Mr. Ewing, kept their portfolios, but important divisions almost immediately arose between the new President and his party on the question of banks, and Mr. Tyler, who had been an old Democrat, was charged with having abandoned the principles of the party which had supported him. Mr. Clay led the attack with his accustomed vehemence and courage, and finally, in September, 1841, after Mr. Clay drafted several measures of banking which the Whig Congress passed, and the Whig President vetoed, Mr. Ewing, with every other member of the Cabinet, save Mr. Webster, resigned his office. It was in the midst of these scenes of excitement and acrimony that young Blaine passed his year at the home of the Secretary

of the Treasury. He was thus getting his first lesson in politics in a practical school, and learning perhaps something of that art of managing men in which he was afterwards to display his greatest power.

It is possible to underestimate as well as overestimate the effect of early surroundings ; but it is probable the scenes the boy witnessed at his uncle's house first inspired him with higher thoughts. The weighty topics which he would there hear discussed by men of experience, who knew the real working and conduct of public life, would insensibly affect a mind so susceptible as that of James G. Blaine. The atmosphere in which for this period he lived and moved was charged with politics, and every day the accomplished statesman who presided over the house would impart some lesson of life or conduct or reveal some of the hidden springs of action which move the affairs of a nation. We may be sure, at all events, that the time spent in Mr. Ewing's intimate society was not lost on a mind so quick to apprehend and so tenacious to retain, and that there were sown the seeds of that noble ambition which has made him a chief and a leader.

CHAPTER II.

THE STUDENT AND TEACHER.

In Washington College.—Making his mark.—Opinions of classmates.—Favorite professor.—Teaching in Blue Licks Military Institute, Ky.—Engagement and marriage.—Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind.—Early historical work.

IN November, 1843, at the early age of thirteen, Mr. Blaine entered Washington College, in the town of the same name. His father was then Prothonotary of the county, and had removed his residence to the college town, which was also the county seat. Washington College has had an honorable history, and her roll of graduates contains many great names. It was chartered in 1806, and in 1869 was united with Jefferson College. Dr. McConaughy, the president of the college, gave the young student a hearty welcome. "You are a brave boy," he said; "I am glad to see you and know you. We shall have a good place ready for you September third, and I shall be glad to see you in my home." From the first he made the impression upon all who came in contact with him that he was in sober earnest in the matter of getting an education and making something of himself in the world. He had a maturity of purpose and of thought far beyond his years. He won the esteem and friendship of students and professors by the steadiness and sturdiness with which he did his duty, as well as the uniform kindness of his manner. He was ready and forcible in debate. In the discussion of political questions he was particularly at home, fairly overwhelming his opponent by the mass of facts with which he was able to

fortify every point, and the alertness with which he would detect and turn to his own account any flaw in argument. He was, moreover, a general favorite, not only in college, but among the townspeople. He was a man who made friends by being worthy of them. He was ambitious without meanness, a rival without jealousy, open and above-board in all that he did and said—a man above reproach and without a foe. His classmates in various parts of the country have recalled in these later years the scenes of their college days, and in the reminiscences of men who knew him as only college men can know their fellows, we shall find the truest picture of James G. Blaine as he appeared to his associates before the shadow of greatness had fallen upon him, and before, by the common consent of a great party, he was placed at the head of its hosts.

Alexander M. Gow, of Iowa, writes: "He was a boy of pleasing manners and agreeable address, quite popular among the students and in society. He was a better scholar than student, having very quick perceptions and a remarkable memory; he was able to catch and retain easily what came to others by hard work. In the literary society he was a politician, and it was there, I think, that he received a good deal of the training that made him what he is.

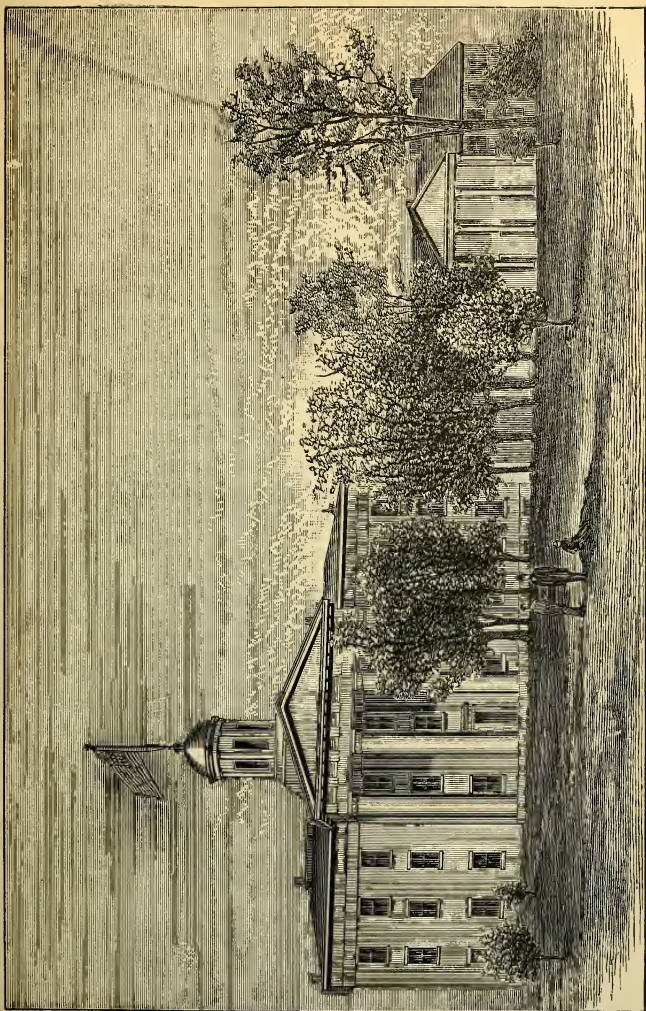
"We were thrown a great deal together, not only in school, but in society. He was a great favorite in the best social circles in the town; he could learn his lessons easily; he had the most remarkable memory of any boy in school, and could commit and retain his lessons without difficulty."

Mr. H. H. M. Pusey, of Iowa, another classmate, and a member of Congress from Iowa, says:

"James Blaine, as I remember him, was a pretty well-built boy and a hard student. He had an impediment of speech, however, which at first prevented him from joining in our debates

and declamations, but he could distance all his classmates in the matter of studies, and his memory was remarkable. We had in the college a literary society, of which I was president, about the time Blaine was sixteen years old. One day he came to me and said : ' B-Bill, I would like to be p-president of the literary society. Can you f-f-fix it for me ? ' I answered : ' Why, what do you know about the literary society ? You have never taken any part in the debates, and have always preferred to pay your fine to taking active part. Do you know anything about parliamentary practice ? ' He replied : ' No, but I can c-c-commit Cushing's Manual to memory in one night.' Well, the result was that at the next meeting I ' fixed it ' for him, and at the meeting the next week Blaine was elected president, vice Pusey, term expired. As he had promised, he committed the entire contents of Cushing's Manual, and he proved the best president the literary society of the college ever had." Another story of the same period, told by one of his old neighbors, is too good to be lost.

" I remember one day his father told him to get up early and go to the market and buy a turkey. He gave him a dollar, which was a good deal of money in those days. Well, James brought home the bird and handed it to old Dinah, the colored cook of the Blaine family. When the elder Blaine came down to breakfast Dinah greeted him : ' Mars Blaine, dat dar turkey what Mars Jim buyed dis mawnin' am de quarest turkey I's ever seed. ' Deed it is, Mars Blaine.' ' Why, what's the matter with it, Dinah ? ain't it big enough ? ' replied the old gentleman. ' It ought to be, surely ; Jim paid a dollar for it.' ' Oh, yes, Mars Blaine, de turkey is big 'nuff, but it am de funniest turkey dis yer nigger ever seed.' ' Mars Blaine ' went out to the kitchen to look at the ' turkey,' and found it to be a ten-year-old goose. He called Jim down and hauled him over the coals, saying : ' Why, Jim, you ought to be



ashamed of yourself. Fifteen years old, and can't tell a turkey from a goose !' Jim hung his head and simply replied : ' Why, how's a boy to tell a turkey from a goose when its feathers are off ? ' "

Hon. Robert E. Williams, of Illinois, now a prominent lawyer, a college-mate, but not a classmate, bears this testimony : " Young Blaine was a big-hearted, whole-souled, good-natured fellow in his college days. We both attended Washington College, in Pennsylvania, and were intimate friends. Blaine was a good companion in his school days—strong in physical strength, fond of out-door sports, yet in a certain sense loving seclusion and his books.

" He was a faithful student, and was regarded by his college-mates as a brilliant and progressive scholar. He was an aggressive fellow whenever there was anything to be accomplished which he thought would be productive of good results. From his earliest college days he seemed to have but one ambition, and that was to make his mark as a journalist.

" He was an industrious writer, and wrote, perhaps, during his college course, a greater number and a greater variety of essays and other articles than any member of his class. He used to remark that a school-teacher or an editor could accomplish more good in the world than any one else, and he thought, after leaving college, he would surely enter the journalistic walks of life."

Another says : " He was a great reader of history, and was so methodical in his arrangement of facts that he could in an instant present an array of them that would overwhelm an opponent. An incident illustrating this power is told of him : When a little boy, his sister challenged him to a contest in naming the counties of the State of Pennsylvania. She named them all, and he immediately named them, and every county seat besides.

Another writes : " His most notable trait, perhaps, was combativeness. He was always at home in an argument, and generally invited it. It was the delight of the Democratic politicians to engage him in political discussions, as he was, even then, well versed in political history, and was an ardent upholder of the Whig doctrines to the last. During his course in 1844, the party lines were drawn unusually close regarding some widely discussed questions that led to the Mexican War, and in all these affairs young Blaine's readiness and force in argument was a matter of general remark.

" His ability to give utterance to anything he had to say, in the most forcible manner, was also noticeable in his wrangles or political discussions with his fellow-students. His absolute self-command under difficulties, here also exhibited itself distinctly in his character. He was the most skillful mathematician in his class, and frequently would demonstrate the problem in a way not found in the books."

A room-mate gives this item, which is very suggestive as showing his strong political bent and power : " I remember, when we were rooming together, that our room was a debating headquarters. Blaine would sit all night and talk politics if he could get anybody to talk back or listen. He preferred an opponent, but if he couldn't get one, he was content if he had some one to sit and listen to him.

" He had a fashion of sitting sideways at the table, with his feet cocked up in such a way that he could swing his right hand around and whack the table. There he would sit and talk, and pound that table until I often thought he would split our ears and that table-top at the same time.

" He had national, State, and county affairs on his finger ends, was familiar with men and measures, and could run over all of them. Many a night I have pleaded with him to stop, and let me go to sleep, but the only way to shut him up

was to put out the visitors and the lights at the same time. Then he had to go to bed."

One further reminiscence, and an interesting one: "To the new-comers and freshmen Blaine was always a hero. To them he was uniformly kind, ever ready to assist and advise them, and to make smooth and pleasant their initiation into college life. His handsome person, his ready sympathy and prompt assistance, his frank and generous nature, and his brave manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at school. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age, on all questions. He was a natural student, excelling pre-eminently in mathematics and English branches, showing also good work in the dead languages of the classics. Mathematics, without question, were to him a pleasure. He was always perfect in mathematical recitations, and was the idol of his teacher, Professor Aldrich."

His intellect early showed vigor, thoroughness, and discipline. He was not content to follow the books. A great memory rarely combines with high mathematical or reasoning power, but in Mr. Blaine was early seen that most wonderful combination, and to it his commanding force of intellect is no doubt largely due. Few men have this union of great retentive and great reasoning power in any degree, almost none in so marked a degree as Mr. Blaine. No one can come in contact with him without being impressed and almost startled by the tremendous power which this enables him to wield. The man who detects at a glance the weak point or fallacy of an argument, and remembers unerringly the one fact in the whole world of facts which exposes it, the man whose memory never sleeps and whose logic seldom falters is an antagonist whose lance is quick to kill and powerful to protect.

Even in college, while he could have memorized a demon-

stration in Euclid as readily as Cushing's Manual, he rather sought to reach and establish his proposition in a fresh way and by original thought. His vigorous and eager mind would sometimes throw off restraints and discard aids, confident, like the athlete, in the elasticity and discipline of his strength. In college, as in after life, Mr. Blaine was strictly temperate in all his habits. He graduated in 1847, sharing the honors, in a class of thirty-three, with Mr. John C. Hervey, who afterwards became Superintendent of Public Instruction in Wheeling, Va., and Mr. T. W. Porter, who devoted himself to journalism. It is noticeable, as showing the tendency of his thoughts, that his graduating oration was upon "The Duty of an Educated American."

The best results of college training are not always those which can be measured in marks, or even in knowledge and discipline. Often it will be found that the personal influence of some one professor, more than anything that he or anybody else taught, was that which in after life remained longest and bore the best fruit. In our large colleges such intimacies are increasingly impossible, but there was a man in Washington College, in 1847, who did for James G. Blaine what few men could have done—threw around him the influence of a thorough manhood. Mr. Blaine owes to Professor Murray a debt which cannot be measured, and which he is still proud to own. With this valued friend and instructor he read through the Greek Testament, taking a portion every Sunday.

It would be interesting to recover, if possible, the Salutatory which James G. Blaine rose timidly to address to his friends and schoolmates. The subject, we have seen, was one that would only have been chosen by a youth of some originality of thought. His class numbered thirty-three, of whom seventeen entered the Christian ministry.

The following is the commencement programme :

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, PA.

Wednesday, September 29, 1847.

GRADUATING CLASS.

Andrew Barr,	John H. Hampton,	Edward B. Neely,
George Baird,	R. C. Holliday,	William M. Orr,
James G. Blaine,	John G. Jacob,	Samuel Power,
Josiah C. Cooper,	Richard H. Lee,	William H. M. Pusey,
George D. Curtis,	John V. LeMoynes,	T. Wilson Porter,
Thomas Creighton,	La Fayette Markle,	Huston Quail,
R. C. Colmery,	G. H. Miller,	Robert Robe,
Cephas Dodd,	J. R. Moore,	J. A. Rankin,
Hugh W. Forbes,	William S. Moore,	James H. Smith,
Alexander M. Gow,	Robert J. Munce,	John H. Storer,
John C. Hervey,	M. P. Morrison,	Alexander Wilson.—33.

MATRI ALMÆ SIMUS HONORI

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

Music—Prayer—Music.

- 1st. Latin Salutatory.....John C. Hervey, Brooke County, Va.
Music.
- 2d. English Salutatory and Oration..James G. Blaine, West Brownsville, Pa.
Music.
- 3d. Greek Salutatory.....T. W. Porter, Fayette County, Pa.
Music.
- 4th. Oration—The Sword and the Plough.....J. G. Jacob, Wellsburgh, Va.
Music.
- 5th. Oration—ByronHuston Quail, Union Valley, Pa.
Music.
- 6th. Oration—The Era of Napoleon....La Fayette Markle, Mill Grove, Pa.
Music.
- 7th. A Poem—The Collegian.....G. D. Curtis, Grove Creek, Va.
Music.
- 8th. Oration—Moral WarfareJ. R. Moore, Wellsville, O.
Music.
- 9th. Oration—Poverty Useful in the Development of Genius.....
.....R. C. Colmery, Hayesville, O.
Music.
- 10th. Oration—The American Boy....E. B. Neely, Washington City, D. C.
Music—Conferring of Degrees—Music.
- 11th. Valedictory.....William M. Orr, Wayne County, O.
Music.

BENEDICTION.

Like most young men just out of college, Mr. Blaine was brought up with a turn at the door of Dame Fortune, and very much puzzled as to whither she would lead him. His little "I," which had stood up so erect and proud before, had drooped its head and bent its knees with a very humble interrogation point. But he was not kept long at the door. A call came for a teacher in the Blue Lick Military Academy, at Georgetown, Kentucky, and Mr. Blaine was recommended by the faculty of the college for the place. The salary was \$500 a year. Though not yet eighteen, the young adventurer did not hesitate to accept the place. In 1872, writing to a classmate, he says: "Ten days after graduation I went to Kentucky, where for nearly three years I spent the life of a tutor."

He taught mathematics, Latin, and United States history. The boys all liked him, not because he was easy, but because he was fair. He is said to have been able to call by name every one of his four hundred scholars. "He should have been a judge," says an old pupil. "His keen sense of justice and his wonderful ability to discover deceits or shams, made him master of the situation. We often managed to mislead the other teachers, and could offer frail excuses to the principal often with impunity, but to Mr. Blaine never. He knew before we spoke, and often kindly saved the boys from lying by rebuking them first and letting them explain afterwards. I never knew of his making a mistake in that matter."

The institute was under the charge of Colonel F. Johnson, and about twenty miles away, at Millersburg, was a young ladies' seminary, of which Mrs. Johnson was principal. Among the teachers at the seminary was Miss Harriet Stanwood, of Ipswich, Mass. Mr. Blaine met the lady at a Sunday-school picnic and formed an acquaintance with her which soon ripened into a mutual attachment, which, after a few years of engagement, was perfected by a marriage of unbroken happiness.

In the home, in society, in the closer relations of life, which have no history but that which is written on the secret tablets of the heart, as well as in the discharge of public duties, Mrs. Blaine has ever displayed those firm, but gentle and tender qualities which make womanhood noble, and which to the wife and mother are an unfading crown of glory.

While Mr. Blaine was teaching in Kentucky, he spent his winter vacations in New Orleans, forming many pleasant acquaintances and acquiring a valuable personal knowledge of Southern ideas and manners.

It was during his residence at the South that Mr. Blaine saw slavery at home—saw it too, when, though still in the insolence of its power, destiny had marked it for a tardy, but awful destruction. That was a period of storm and stress in the minds of men—the stern harbinger of fate for the system that had battered so long upon the honor and fair fame of the freest land the sun looks down upon. While Mr. Blaine was still in college, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, introduced his famous “Proviso,” providing “that as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should ever exist in any part of said territory.” The Proviso was defeated, but Wilmot was not defeated. The agitation was long and bitter, but out of it grew the Free Soil party which, with an anti-slavery platform, began, in 1848, the great struggle for abolition. While the echo of the Wilmot Proviso was still resounding through the length and breadth of the land, the Presidential campaign of 1848 was fought. Soon after the inauguration of General Taylor, California, with a free constitution in her hand, applied for admission to the Union. The debate was long and bitter, and it was only after a compromise had been effected by Mr. Clay, that the new State was admitted.

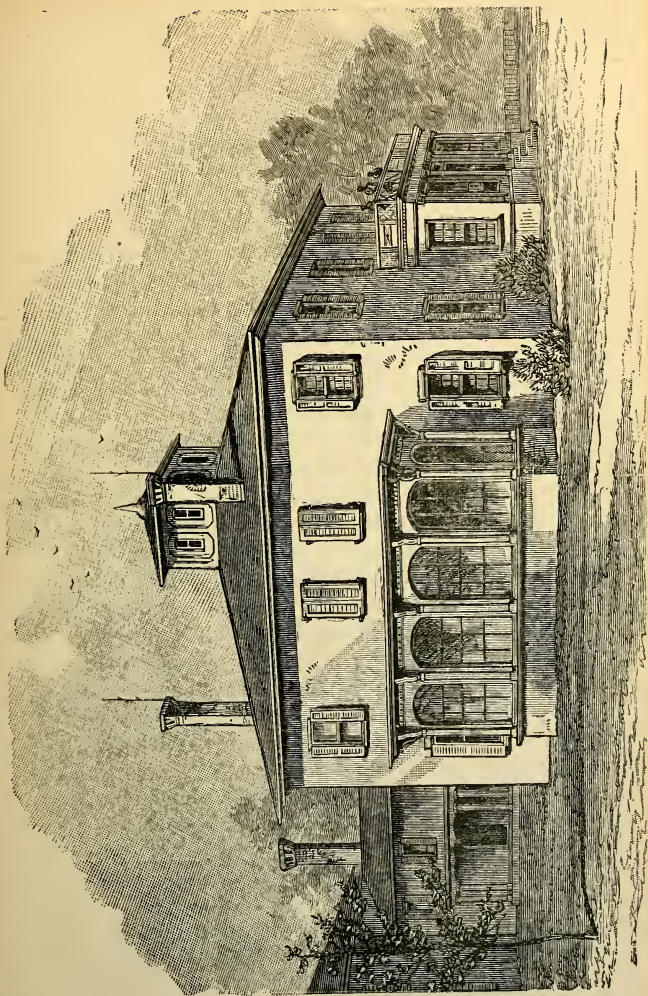
Mr. Blaine's impressions of slavery, as he saw it at this period, were given years afterwards in an editorial which appeared in the *Kennebec Journal*. He said :

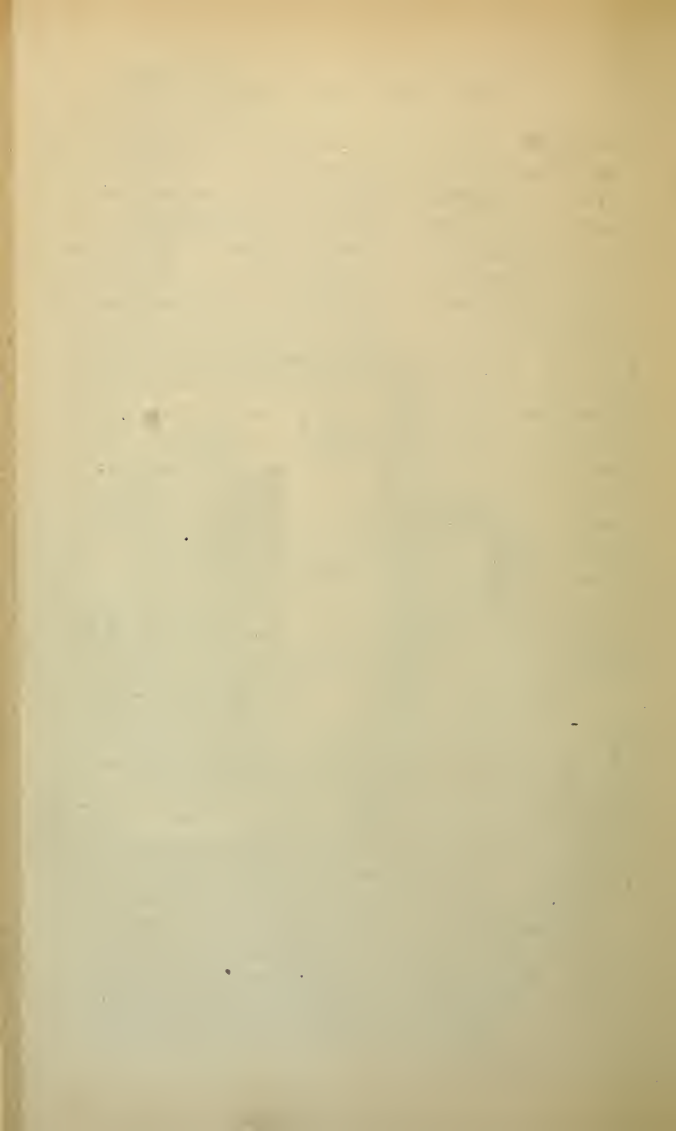
"We—the editor—have to plead guilty to a residence of four years, prior to and including 1850, in the State of Kentucky. We were engaged in what we still consider the honorable capacity of a teacher in a literary institution, then and now in deservedly high standing with the several States, both North and South, which patronize and sustain it. Invited to take the position for a certain pecuniary consideration, which we irregularly received, and having to the best of our ability, and to the satisfaction of all concerned, discharged our duties, we have been under the impression that the matter was closed and nothing due from either party to the other in the way of personal obligation or political fealty. The *Age*, however, seems to think that, having partaken of the 'slaveholders' salt' (for which we paid), we should be dumb to the slaveholders' wrong-doings.

"Our residence in the South gave us, we hope, the advantage of a thorough comprehension of the question of slavery in all its aspects, and of the views of the men who sustain it.

"We beg leave to say (since we are reluctantly forced into this allusion to self), that the anti-slavery sentiments which, from our earliest youth, we imbibed in our native Pennsylvania—the first of the 'old thirteen' to abolish slavery—were deepened and strengthened by a residence among slaveholders, and that nowhere, either on slave soil or free soil, have we expressed other feelings than those of decided hostility to the extension of the withering curse."

Leaving Kentucky about 1851, Mr. Blaine returned to Pennsylvania and entered upon the study of law, reading at first in his old county of Washington, and afterwards, while a teacher in Philadelphia, under the direction of the late Theo-





dore Cuyler. He never sought admission to the bar, but his legal training proved of great service to him in after life.

In the summer of 1852, in answer to an advertisement, he applied for and obtained a position as principal teacher in the boys' department of the Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind, where he remained two years. Mr. Chapin, the principal of the school, has preserved some interesting reminiscences of this period.

"There were thirty or forty other applicants, but his manner was so winning, and he possessed so many manifestly valuable qualities that I closed an engagement with him at once. His qualities which impressed me most deeply were his culture, the thoroughness of his education, and his unfailing self-possession. He was also a man of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was very young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly. But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget.

"Now, I will show you something that illustrates how thoroughly Mr. Blaine mastered anything he took hold of," said Mr. Chapin, as he took from a desk in the corner of the room a thick quarto manuscript book, bound in dark, brown leather, and lettered "Journal" on the corner. "This book Mr. Blaine compiled with great labor from the minute books of the Board of Managers. It is a historical view of the institution from the time of its foundation up to the time of Mr. Blaine's departure. He did all the work in his own room, telling no one of it until he left. Then he presented it,

through me, to the Board of Managers, who were both surprised and gratified. I believe they made him a present of \$100 as a thank-offering for an invaluable work."

Indeed, this book, the first historical work of Mr. Blaine, is a model of its kind. On the title page, in ornamental penwork, executed at that time by Mr. Chapin, is the inscription :

JOURNAL
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION
FOR THE
INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND,
FROM ITS FOUNDATION.

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS
BY
JAMES G. BLAINE.
1854.

The methodical character of the work is most remarkable. On the first page every abbreviation used in the book is entered alphabetically. The first entry reads: "On this, and the four following pages, will be found some notes in regard to the origin of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, furnished by I. Francis Fisher, Esq." From this page to the 188th, in which is the last entry made by Mr. Blaine, every line is a model of neatness and accuracy. On every page is a wide margin. At the top

of the margin is the year, in ornamental figures. Below is a brief statement of what the next contains opposite that portion of the marginal entry. Every year's record closes with an elaborate table, giving the attendance of members of the board. The last pages of the book are filled with alphabetical lists of officers of the institution and statistical tables, compiled by the same patient and untiring hand. One of the lists is that of the "principal teachers." No. 13 is followed by the signature "James G. Blaine, from August 5th, 1852, to"—and then, in another hand, the record is completed with the date November 23d, 1854.

"I think that the book," remarked Mr. Chapin, "illustrates the character of the man in accurate mastery of facts and orderly presentation of details. We still use it for reference, and Mr. Frank Battles, the assistant principal, is bringing the record down to the present time.

"Mr. Blaine taught mathematics, in which he excelled, and in the higher branches."

This brings us to the close of the more uneventful period of Mr. Blaine's life. Henceforth as editor and statesman he is to be a prominent figure in the political movements of his State and country, and to mount steadily upward on the ladder of political preferment until his foot shall rest upon the topmost round.

CHAPTER III.

IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

Aptitude for newspaper work.—Removal to Augusta.—Partnership with Joseph Baker.—“Kennebec Journal.”—The break-up of the Whig party.—The “Portland Advertiser.”—The Fugitive-slave law.—Fremont nominated.—The Republican party.—Blaine’s editorial career.—His articles on the Anti-slavery question.—The new party.—W. H. Seward.—The Dred Scott decision.—Judge Davis.—Blaine’s opposition to his removal.

THE modern newspaper is the modern wonder. It forms and leads public opinion. It makes knowledge a common possession. It gives wings to eloquence and an added sting to disgrace. The earth makes a single turn, and before it gets fairly started on the next, the secrets of the first are out, all down in black and white in the columns of the morning paper. The mightiest of mighty pens is in the editor’s hands. Even the proprietor of a country weekly reaches more people in one issue of his paper than his minister does in a whole year. The orator may have his thousands, but the editor has his tens of thousands. To a man of Mr. Blaine’s tastes and talents journalism was peculiarly attractive. The work harmonized with his impatient, aggressive spirit and his political enthusiasm, and his mental endowment especially fitted him to succeed in any position which required clear, vigorous thinking and ready, forcible writing. In his college days he had dreamed of editorial chairs, and now he was to have one.

In 1854 he gave up his position in Philadelphia and removed to Augusta, Me., then a city of about 8,000 inhabitants, and since 1830 the capital of the State. Mr. Blaine

immediately formed a partnership with Mr. Joseph Baker, a leading lawyer of the Kennebec bar, for the purchase and publication of the *Kennebec Journal*, a weekly Whig newspaper. The Whig party was already breaking up. It had failed to grapple with the vital question of the hour, and to declare itself either for or against the anti-slavery movement. But the Republican party had not yet been formed, and the efforts of Mr. Blaine and other patriotic men were devoted to an earnest defense of the only party in which at the time there seemed to be a hope of better things. His success was immediate and flattering. He was soon personally known to every man of prominence in the city, and his name was a recognized power in the community before he could have rightfully expected to have won its confidence.

There was a terseness and directness in his writing, a clearness and vigor in his thinking, a deep conviction in his enthusiasm for the anti-slavery cause which speedily brought him to the front and made him a leader almost before he had learned to follow. Mr. Blaine continued in the active control of the *Journal* until 1857, when he assumed editorial charge of a daily newspaper in Portland, called the *Advertiser*. During the campaign of 1860, he again—on the illness of the regular editor—conducted the *Kennebec Journal*. But his journalistic career properly closed with his election to the Maine Legislature in 1858. It covered a period when men were taking sides on the slavery question. The abolition movement was coming to the birth. Some patriots began to dread the truth of Benton's prophecy: "So long as the people of the North shall be content to attend to commerce and manufactures, and accept the policy and rule of the disunionists, they will condescend to remain in the Union; but should the Northern people attempt to exercise their just influence in the nation, they will attempt to seize the Government or disrupt

the Union." In September, 1850, the Fugitive-slave Law was passed. The excitement at the North was intense. In Syracuse, N. Y., a negro named Jerry was forcibly rescued from the hands of the Government officers. In Boston, Shadrach, another fugitive slave, was taken by his friends from the Supreme Court chamber, when it became evident that there was no hope from the law. When Marshal Devens marched out of the Boston Court House guarded by United States troops, and having in his custody the runaway slave, Anthony Burns, the honor of Boston was stained by an act which, under cover of the law, violated the simplest and deepest instincts of justice in the minds of an enlightened people. Plainly the time had come to strike. The iron was hot. Who should wield the hammer? Old men touched the handle and shrunk back. But the youth of the North, inspired alike with a hatred of slavery and a courage that would not quail at the crack of the slaveholder's whip, took up the hammer, and in the name of patriotism and intelligence and justice, struck the blow. Mr. Blaine early felt the new leaven working in his mind. He was a Republican before the Republican party. He was a delegate from Maine to the first convention of that party, and one of its secretaries. General Fremont was nominated, and the great movement henceforth grew in breadth and aggressiveness.

The late Governor Kent, of Maine, speaking of Mr. Blaine's career in that State, has said: "Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin, and the two Morrills, and others then and still prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine

—a position he has held ever since, and from which he has practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the State, always leading his party to brilliant victory.”

Mr. Blaine has given us the following masterly review of the events which led to the formation of the Republican party and its early history :

“Thenceforward new alliances were rapidly formed. In the South those Whigs who, though still unwilling to profess an anti-slavery creed, would not unite with the Democrats, were re-organized under the name of the American party, with Humphrey Marshall, Henry Winter Davis, Horace Maynard, and men of that class, for leaders. This party was founded on proscription of foreigners, and with special hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. It had a fitful and feverish success, and in 1854-5, under the name of Know-nothings, enrolled tens of thousands in secret lodges. But its creed was narrow, its principles were illiberal, and its methods of procedure boyish and undignified. The great body of thinking men in the North saw that the real contest impending was against slavery and not against naturalization laws and ecclesiastical dogmas. The Know-nothings therefore speedily disappeared, and a new party sprang into existence composed of Anti-Slavery Whigs and Anti-Slavery Democrats.

“The latter infused into the ranks of the new organization a spirit and an energy which Whig traditions could never inspire.

“The same name was not at once adopted in all the free States in 1854, but by the ensuing year there was a general recognition throughout the North that all who intended to make a serious fight against the pro-slavery Democracy, would unite under the flag of the Republican party. In its first effort, without compact organization, without discipline, it rallied the anti-slavery sentiment so successfully as to carry nearly all of the free States, and to secure a plurality of the members of the House of Representatives. The indignation of the people knew no bounds. Old political landmarks disappeared, and party prejudices of these generations were swept aside in a day. With such success in the

outset, the Republicans prepared for a vigorous struggle in the approaching Presidential election.

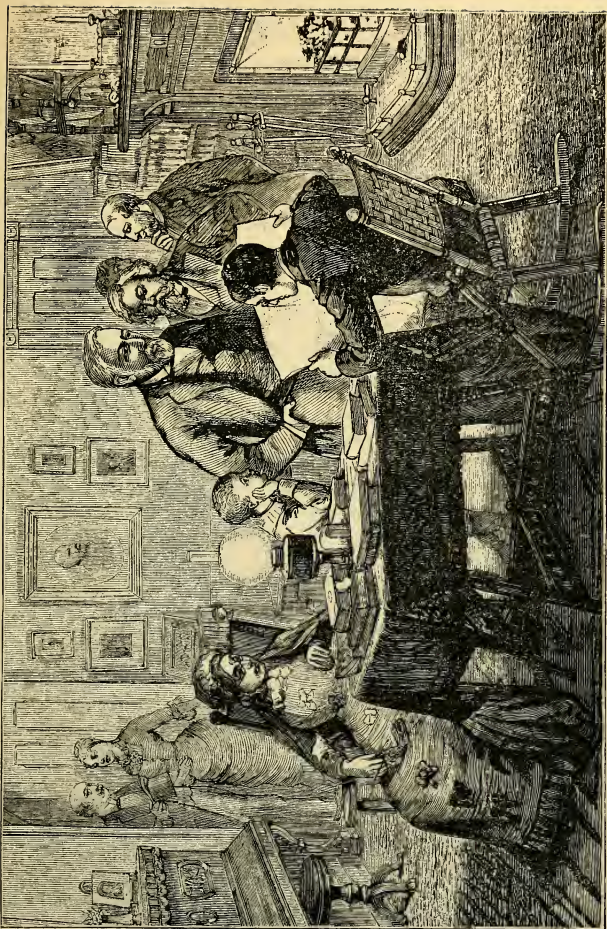
"The anti-slavery development of the North was not more intense than the pro-slavery development of the South. Every other issue was merged in the one absorbing demand by Southern slaveholders for what they sincerely believed to be their rights in the Territories. It was not viewed on either side as an ordinary political contest. It was felt to be a question, not of expediency, but of morality, not of policy, but of honor. It did not merely enlist men—women took a large part in the agitation. It did not end with absorbing the laity; the clergy were as profoundly concerned.

"The power of the Church, on both sides of the dividing line, was used with great effect in shaping public opinion and directing political action.

"The Missouri Compromise was repealed in May. Before the end of the year a large majority of the people of the North and a large majority of the people of the South were distinctly arrayed against each other on a question which touched the interest, the pride, the conscience, and the religion of all who were concerned in the controversy. Had either side been insincere, there would have been voluntary yielding or enforced adjustment. But each felt itself to be altogether in the right, and its opponent altogether in the wrong. Thus they stood confronting each other at the close of the year 1854."

A few extracts from his editorials will, better than any words of ours, show the drift of his opinion in these stirring *ante-bellum* days. The following declaration of principles appeared in the *Journal* soon after Mr. Blaine assumed the management of it:

"Politically, THE JOURNAL will pursue the same course it has marked out for the last two months. We shall cordially support the Morrill or Republican party, the substantial principles of which are, as we understand them, freedom, temperance, river and harbor improvements within Constitutional limits, home-



steads for freemen, and a just administration of the public lands of the State and nation. We shall advocate the cause of popular education as the surest safeguard of our Republican institutions, and especially the common schools of the State and city."

In December, 1854, a ringing editorial appeared on "The Permanency of the Republican Party." We quote a part of it :

"The great Republican party that has suddenly developed itself on the political theater, embodying the anti-slavery sentiment of the country as its leading characteristic, when considered in its natural elements, in its history and progress, or in the light of experience, has every appearance of permanence and progress.

"It does not, as the *Mercury* intimates, foreshadow the dissolution of the Union, but its salvation. The slave States will never dissolve the Union. They have too great a stake in its preservation, for the arm of the Federal Government is absolutely necessary to keep them from insurrection and massacre by the millions of slaves now groaning under the accursed lash. But dissolution, if it ever come, must come from the free States, stripped of their rights and degraded in the government, as they have been for the last twenty years, and goaded on to desperation by a continuance and perpetual repetition of these aggressions. The Union will be saved by arresting the gigantic strides of the slave-power towards political supremacy, driving it back into its legitimate sphere, and restoring to the North its just and equal rights. But that the other alternative, mentioned by the *Mercury*, may not in the end result from the permanent dominion of the Republican party, we are not prepared to deny; on the contrary, it is the hope of many an earnest heart that beats the warmest in this glorious movement, that God in His wise Providence will make it the instrumentality of the final "extinction of slavery" in this Republic. In this hope we live and labor, and will labor while we live, believing that a country redeemed from the shame and curse of slavery, purified and restored to the Republicanism of its palmy days, will be the richest legacy we can leave to posterity. Drive rum as a beverage from all the avenues of society, place the tide of foreign immigration that is pouring in upon us

with such fearful power under proper restrictions, and in a course of education that shall prepare it, as the American citizen is now prepared, for the high functions of freedom; strike the fetters from the limb of every slave that breathes in all this vast domain, so that, from center to circumference, only the glad shout of liberty shall be heard, and the smile of Providence will bless this land as it never has been blessed, and the glory shall roll on from generation to generation while time shall last."

In March, 1855, Mr. Blaine wrote enthusiastically of the formation of the new party in Maine, and of its first convention:

"It can no longer be questioned that we have in Maine a well-organized and powerful party, which shares the sympathy and influence of a decided majority of the people. That radical and permanent causes have been operating for years to bring about the present condition of things, is so well known as to need no repetition. Ignored and resisted as those causes were by selfish schemers, personal aims, and the force of old party watchwords, they increased yearly in breadth and strength, until they have become one resistless current of public opinion, fed by the various springs of moral and patriotic feelings, which are so fresh and healthful in the social soil of Maine, on which the ship of State is fairly launched, with the flags of temperance, freedom, and American enterprise waving proudly at the masthead. The Republican party, therefore, is not the creation of a few individuals; it is the production of moral ideas which have long been asserting their sway in the consciences and hearts of the people. It is pre-eminently the child of ideas and of the people. Strong as these ideas and their friends had shown themselves in the political efforts of the two or three years past, old political organizations had prevented the union of men of like principles in one well-organized party. The men were called by different names, yet they had a common faith and common purposes. Their principles needed expression in a common platform. The people desired one political family and one organization. Right, expediency and necessity called for a convention. What time more opportune and appropriate than the birthday of Washington? So ready

were the people for action, so manifest the necessity, that a long notice was not required. The convention of the 22d was one of the most remarkable and interesting that ever assembled in our State. The number in attendance was very large—not less than nine or ten hundred. It was composed of the true and influential portion of the people from all parts of the State. Its members came in due proportion from all the former political parties, in names of long-established reputation and worth, known in the State and out of it; in men possessing the confidence and representing the convictions of their respective vicinities, no political assemblage ever held in the State surpassed the one of last week. No body of men could be more united in opinion and resolution. The enthusiasm manifested was not a sudden and transitory feeling, but was the result of a calm yet intense conviction that a new era had arrived in the politics of the State and Nation, that high and solemn duties are now devolving on our citizens. The resolutions and the speeches indicated the spirit and the purpose, the principles and the settled determination of the Republicans of Maine, and, as we believe, of that great and truly national party which is so rapidly gathering numbers, strength, and prestige, which is to march into power in 1856, and bring the country back to the purity and the idea of its founders.”

Upon another occasion he wrote :

“The Republican party is the only true national party. Its platform is the only ground upon which the friends of the Union can stand. Its fast gathering strength is to be the bulwark of the Union against the dangers that thicken around its future. It is the only breakwater against the tide of despotism that threatens to spread over the whole country. It calls on the nation to return to the policy, the principles, and the maxims of the statesmen who won our liberties, reared the fabric of our Government, and gave its first direction. Its principles are broad as the Union. It demands national men, national measures, and is the only truly national party that has the prospect of carrying the country against the sectional, dangerous, and corrupt political organization that now controls the country, to the disgrace of the American name throughout the civilized world.”

On the election to the United States Senate of Wm. H. Seward, the great Republican leader, in one of his editorials we find these strong, exulting words :

“The prayer of the freeman is answered. A question of the highest importance, the right decision of which for months has excited the deepest solicitude, has been solved to the joy of patriotic Americans, and for the welfare of the public. By the force of his own character as a man and a statesman, and of the moral and political principles which he represents, and which center in him, William H. Seward has been re-elected to the American Senate by the State which in her earlier days gave the nation a Clinton, a Livingston, a Jay, a Hamilton, and which now with her population, her resources, and strength increased twenty-fold, bears up in her arms freedom’s great leader against traitors at home and storms of relentless opposition from abroad. The heart of the nation throbs at the event which, amid exultation and congratulations, lightning and steam are announcing to the true men of this whole continent and of the civilized world. The contest through which he has passed is without parallel in the history of this country. We have waited until the clouds of the conflict were passing away and the cannon of rejoicing had ceased, to express our exultant gratitude at the event to which we have looked forward with the strongest hope.

“Reviewing the field, we saw that nothing but Mr. Seward’s naked strength and the devotion of the people of the Empire State to him and to his principles could rescue him from the combined array against him. We watched the contest with the deepest solicitude. Four months have passed. The coalition of wickedness has culminated. The battle is over. The great American statesman is unscathed, and now occupies a prouder elevation before his countrymen than ever before, and a serener and brighter future is securely his. Never since the establishment of the Republic has there been a greater necessity for a leading statesman of far-seeing vision, of heroic, unyielding will, of courage that no threat or danger can blanch, of genius to organize and guide. We trust the friends of Mr. Seward will not misunderstand the cause and meaning of his triumph. His elec-

tion is not the success or defeat of the old political organizations. His bitterest and ablest foes are among those who claim to belong to the party with which he labored from its formation to the hour of its final overthrow. Many of his ablest and most devoted friends and supporters have belonged to the Democratic party. In reality his election has been secured by that party which has been gathering numbers and strength from all former organizations, which has arisen, a young giant.

“Not as the champion of an effete and rapidly dissolving party, but as a great statesman and sworn defender of freedom and the Union, he finds congenial fellowship with Chase, Sumner, Wade, Fessenden, Hamlin, King, Johnson, Wilson, Strong, Hall, Durkee, and that whole school of vigorous determined men of common blood and aim, who are, by the will of God and the people, to make it historical fact in 1860, that slavery is sectional and temporary, that freedom is national and universal.”

Mr. Blaine's early and consistent repugnance to slavery are strongly shown in the columns of the *Journal* :

“We make it as a sober and well-considered statement that our country is to-day in greater peril by elements and agencies within her borders, than at the commencement of the Revolution by the plans of the British ministry and the power of British arms. It requires no prophet to decide that the aggressions of the slave power are more dangerous to the freedom and progress of the American people, than the threatened despotism of England in 1775. And what is the most melancholy and shameful, these aggressions have been invited and vastly strengthened by the treachery and cowardice of men living in the free States.”

Speaking of the proposition to carry slavery into free Kansas, he said :

“Let not the fatal spirit of compromise induce us to acquiesce in past wrongs, because of some promised advantage and security in the future. Compromise with slavery is but another phrase for Sacrifice of Liberty ; and in the past we have had enough, and more than enough, of that.”

Of the famous Dred Scott decision, Mr. Blaine wrote :

“Whither do all these things tend? Are we to be a permanently subdued people? We can but regard them as the last turns to the screws of despotism, that presage the mighty uprising and triumph of the people. Slavery has got to the farthest limits, of its power and aggression. Henceforth it must lose in the great contest which it is waging against freedom. The day of truce has gone by; the slaveholders have left the free men of the nation no other resort but revolution—a revolution, if slavery wills it to be no other, only through the peaceful agencies of the press, public opinion, of religion, and of the ballot-box. These aided by time, and the increase of free population, at no distant day, will give us every department of the government, and regain to national freedom what has been lost by Southern cupidity and Northern treason.”

On the removal of Judge Davis from the Supreme bench of the State for purely political reasons, Mr. Blaine vigorously denounced the act, and took the same high stand for the independence of the Judiciary that he has ever since consistently maintained. It is well known in Maine that he lent the whole power of his great influence to secure the appointment and confirmation in 1875 of a learned and upright Democratic Judge, by a Republican Governor and Council. Even after the appointment by the Governor the confirmation was warmly resisted both in and out of the Council on the ground of the political faith of the nominee, and but for Mr. Blaine's personal influence, would undoubtedly have been refused. Respecting the removal of Judge Davis, we find these plain words of denunciation :

“The whole proceeding, from its inception to its close, was a bold and reckless piece of political crime, which made a deep stain on the history of the State. It was an attack on the independence of the Judiciary, of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency.”

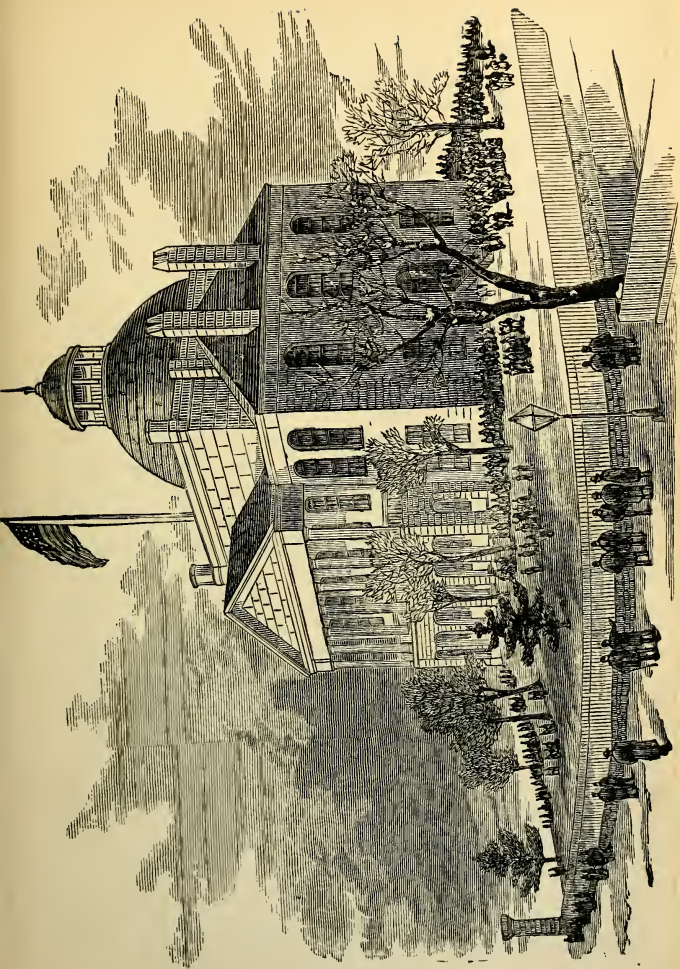
We have quoted thus at length from the editorial utterances of Mr. Blaine, not only for the light they shed upon that dark period of our history that preceded the civil war, but also because they show that at the outset of his public career he espoused those principles of staunch loyalty, uncompromising integrity, and fidelity to great ideas which have made him a respected and admired leader, a wise counselor, an able and successful statesman. They also reveal what is perhaps the secret of that wonderful magnetism which draws friends to him and binds them fast. His whole-hearted, constant, and lasting devotion to any cause in which he heartily believed, and to any man who honored him with the name of friend. He is a warm partisan. That is plain in his editorials, but there is a genuineness, directness, strength of conviction, and definiteness of purpose, evidenced even in these early utterances, which mark him as a man to be implicitly and cordially trusted, one whom friend and foe alike would always find at his post ready for defense or attack.

CHAPTER IV.

BLAINE IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE.

Blaine a Delegate to the Convention.—His diffidence before the Ratification Meeting.—His brilliant success.—His speech on the acquisition of Cuba.—“No other nation must have it.”—The Chicago Convention of 1860.—Blaine’s description of Douglas and Lincoln.—Blaine as delegate.—Speech in favor of the administration of Lincoln.—“The *one* man power.”—Patriotic sentiment.—Nominated for the United States Congress, 1862.

THE prominence into which Blaine had come as a journalist naturally led to his taking an active personal share in the practical work of politics. In 1855, the troubles in Kansas were at their height, and a state of almost civil war existed. The excesses to which the controversy between the opponents and advocates of the extension of slavery filled every journal, and the assault of Brooks on Sumner had filled all lovers of free thought and free speech with the bitterest abhorrence of the party that had such champions. The Democratic Convention met June 2, 1856, and nominated James Buchanan as its candidate for the Presidency; Fremont being nominated by the Republicans. In the previous year Blaine had been secretary of the State Convention; he was now sent as one of the delegates of Maine to the Republican Convention, in Philadelphia. He cast his vote for Fremont. On his return to Augusta, a Ratification Meeting was held, and he was called on to address the audience. Pressed to speak, he at first refused, but afterward consented. Standing before the large audience he made a poor beginning, but soon entered into the spirit of the hour, and so clear, forcible, and convin-



cing was his speech that from that moment he was considered not only an able writer, but one of the most effective platform speakers in the party. Throughout the campaign he spoke in many places, and his reputation soon extended beyond his section.

Henceforth he was looked on as a man who would rise. Again and again his friends urged him to accept a nomination as candidate for the lower house of the State Legislature, and nothing but unwearied persistence induced him to accept it in 1858. The timidness that had characterized his appearance in public two years before, still haunted him, and during the canvass the speeches he made were few and brief. It is strange to read that an orator so ready in debate, so prepared for every emergency, so capable of swaying all hearers, either in the halls of the Legislature or on "the stump," should have ever been so diffident and so unable to conquer his trepidation before an audience. But it is the same nervous temperament in both cases; in one the inspiration was too potent for the means of expression, in the other it has learned to guide and use them. His early speeches were all written out and committed to memory. In the Legislature he found the training he needed. Questions connected with the interests of his constituents and attacks upon his party, repeatedly called him to address the House, and gave him the confidence needed.

One of Mr. Blaine's earliest public services was a reformer of abuses. In a series of editorials, he assailed the abuses of the prison system of the State and arrested public attention, till finally, in 1859, the Governor, to justify himself, named the young reformer as Commissioner to examine the prison systems throughout the country. He did examine and investigate thoroughly the systems of various States, and made an exhaustive report suggesting changes and reforms, many of which were permanently adopted.

The most important of his early speeches was on the proposed purchase of Cuba. Mr. Slidell, of Louisiana, introduced a bill for that purpose, accompanied by an elaborate report setting forth the necessity of our being possessors of the island. With Cuba in our hands, he argued, the slave-trade would be virtually abolished. The bill provided that thirty millions of dollars be placed in the President's hands to commence negotiations, and that the whole price paid be not over \$125,000,000.

In the Maine Legislature, Mr. Porter, of Lowell, introduced a resolution "that our Representatives in Congress be instructed to exert their influence and give their votes for any honorable measure that may be brought forward looking to the early acquisition of Cuba by the United States." It became widely known through the newspapers that Mr. Blaine was opposed to these resolves, and, as he said, they advertised him for the performance. He did not disappoint public expectation. In a brilliant and masterly oration he pointed out the extraordinary character and dangerous tendency of the Slidell bill; he showed how it broke down the constitutional safeguards of our Government by giving the whole treaty-making power to the Executive, and by allowing him, at his discretion, to annex territory, form States, and to resolve on peace or war. Then leaving the narrow question of the Slidell bill, he stated his own views on the general subject of the acquisition of Cuba, views which we commend to those who fear that if he become President his foreign policy will be of a sensational character.

In reference to the general subject of the acquisition of Cuba, which may be considered as in some sense before the House, I have a few remarks to offer, and I am frank to confess that "a good deal may be said on one side of that question, and a good deal on the other." The acquisition of the island would incor-

porate into our nation a large number of people differing radically and essentially from us in race, in language, in religion, in domestic habits, and in civil institutions. Even with our enormous powers of deglutition, digestion and absorption, our energies would be taxed to a dangerous extent by the attempt to make the mixed and mongrel people of that island homogeneous with our own. Its annexation would also increase to an alarming extent the influence of the slave power in the government of this country, and would give them additional strength and prestige in the Senate of the United States, which, as every one knows, has always been their stronghold, both for offense and defense. The objections to the acquisition of Cuba, which grew out of these considerations, are most cogent and pressing, and certainly of sufficient weight to restrain the ardor of annexation, which some of our people might be supposed to cherish when looking at the subject purely from a commercial standpoint.

On the other hand, there is a very general acquiescence in the position that our country can never permit any other power to obtain possession of the island. Such is the well-known and peculiar situation with reference to our own country, that we would be deaf to the plainest dictates of self-interest if we should permit it to fall under the dominion of either of our great rivals in Europe. It may, therefore, be considered the settled policy of this nation to prevent the island of Cuba from being transferred to any other nation, and I think it is equally the settled policy not to molest Spain in her peaceful and rightful possession of it. Every statesman in the country who has been called upon to affirm the position of our Government on this question, has uniformly taken the ground that we should not and would not disturb Spain in her ownership of the island, and that until she was ready to entertain or propose terms of cession or transfer, it was not becoming in us to agitate the question. Such are the expressed and recorded views of John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, James Buchanan, William L. Marcy, and Edward Everett—six of the most distinguished gentlemen who have presided over the State Department of this Government. If I had public documents at hand I could quote the opinions of each

and all these eminent men in support of the views I have advanced. I am able, however, at this time, to call the attention of the House to an extract from but one of the numerous State papers to which I have referred, and that is from the letter of instructions written by Mr. Buchanan when Secretary of State under Mr. Polk, in 1848, to Mr. Romulus Saunders, of North Carolina, then our Minister to Madrid. In that letter Mr. Buchanan, speaking for the Administration, authorized Mr. Saunders to offer one hundred millions of dollars to Spain for the island, and he accompanied his instructions with a disclaimer of any design or desire to coerce Spain into the sale. I quote the following extract from his remarks:

“The fate of this island must ever be deeply interesting to the people of the United States. We are content that it shall continue to be a colony of Spain. Whilst in her possession we have nothing to apprehend. Besides, we are bound to her by the ties of ancient friendship, and we sincerely desire to render these perpetual.”

Why, then, are we not still content that it shall be a colony of Spain? Do we not know, of a verity, that “whilst in her possession we have nothing to apprehend?” I commend Mr. Buchanan’s words in 1848 to his adherents in 1859, and knowing as they do, that Spain was never so reluctant to part with Cuba as now—indeed, never so fully determined to hold it as at this moment—what, I ask, can be the object of agitation on this subject?

Nothing can be more statesman-like than this declaration of opinion, and nothing in Mr. Blaine’s subsequent career leads us to suppose he has changed in mature life the sentiments he uttered in youth, in the midst of considerable agitation, and when he had none of the responsibilities of office—responsibilities which sober even the most impulsive of men. We cannot but admire the calm sagacity that dictated the language just quoted to a young and ambitious man in a time of popular excitement. We have no reason to conjecture that Mr.

Blaine, in 1884, thinks otherwise than he thought in February, 1859.

In the winter of this year, the black cloud that had so long hung over the country grew darker and more lowering. The Harper's Ferry affair had enraged the South; a large section of the North regarded John Brown as a martyr, while President Buchanan in his message urged the cultivation of national forbearance. Nearly everybody in Congress who could speak delivered himself on the exciting topic of slavery, and Seward, as spokesman of the Republicans, made it evident that if they elected a Republican President, Southern supremacy was gone forever. Jefferson Davis and other Southern orators fiercely threatened the dissolution of the Union if they were in a minority, while Douglas rode his hobby of popular sovereignty to his heart's content. More than ordinary violence and disorder reigned in the House, and the Administration of Buchanan was severely censured by the House. A general anxiety pervaded the country when the party conventions met. In all this period of disturbance Mr. Blaine was a prominent actor, and when the great Republican Convention met at Chicago, in 1860, his own sincere, patriotic, and straightforward mind was powerfully attracted by the simple directness and the tremendous sincerity of Mr. Lincoln. He had been a witness and correspondent during those remarkable debates between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas, which had swept the whole horizon of political disputes, and filled Illinois and remoter States with the fame of the great disputants. He had even during that campaign made the remarkable prediction that Mr. Douglas would defeat Mr. Lincoln for the Senatorship of Illinois, but that Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, would defeat Mr. Douglas for the Presidency of the United States. No one who has read it can ever forget the skill and power with which Mr. Blaine in his later history has outlined the features of that mighty debate.

With a master hand, in a few lines swift and strong, as a painter would throw a face on his canvas, he shows us the two great leaders, as they step out in front of the contending parties to do intellectual battle. No clearer reading nor more brilliant drawing of character can be found in his whole history than the following :

The contest that ensued was memorable. Douglas had a herculean task before him. The Republican party was strong, united, conscious of its power, popular, growing.

The Democratic party was rent with faction, and the Administration was irrevocably opposed to the return of Douglas to the Senate. He entered the field, therefore, with a powerful opponent in front, and with defection and betrayal in the rear. He was everywhere known as a debater of singular skill. His mind was fertile in resources. He was master of logic. No man perceived more quickly than he the strength or weakness of an argument, and no one excelled him in the use of sophistry and fallacy.

Where he could not elucidate a point to his own advantage, he would fatally becloud it for his opponent. In that peculiar style of debate which, in its intensity, resembles a physical combat, he had no equal. He spoke with extraordinary readiness. There was no halting in his phrase. He used good English, terse, vigorous, pointed. He disregarded the adornments of rhetoric—rarely used a simile.

He was utterly destitute of humor, and had slight appreciation of wit. He never cited historical precedents, except from the domain of American policies. Inside that field his knowledge was comprehensive, minute, critical. Beyond it his learning was limited. He was not a reader. His recreations were not in literature. In the whole range of his voluminary speaking it would be difficult either to find a line of poetry or a classical allusion. But he was by nature an orator, and by long practice a debater. He could lead a crowd almost irresistibly to his own conclusions. He could, if he wished, incite a mob to desperate deeds.

He was, in short, an able, audacious, almost unconquerable opponent in public discussion.

It would have been impossible to find any man of the same type able to meet him before the people of Illinois. Whoever attempted it would probably have been destroyed in the first encounter. But the man who was chosen to meet him, who challenged him to the combat, was radically different in every phase of character. Scarcely could two men be more unlike, in moral and mental constitution, than Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. Mr. Lincoln was calm and philosophic. He loved the truth for truth's sake. He would not argue from a false premise, or be deceived himself, or deceive others by a false conclusion. He had pondered deeply on the issues which aroused him to action. He had given anxious thought to the problems of free government and to the destiny of the Republic. He had for himself marked out a path of duty, and he walked in it fearlessly. His mental processes were slower, but more profound than those of Douglas. He did not seek to say merely the thing which was best for that day's debate, but the thing which would stand the test of time and square itself with eternal justice. He wished nothing to appear white unless it was white. His logic was severe and faultless. He did not resort to fallacy, and could detect it in his opponent, and expose it with merciless directness. He had an abounding sense of humor, and always employed it in the illustration of his argument—never for the mere sake of provoking merriment. In this respect he had the wonderful aptness of Franklin. He often taught a great truth with the felicitous brevity of an *Æsop Fable*. His words did not fall in an impetuous torrent as did those of Douglas, but they were always well chosen, deliberate, and conclusive.

Thus fitted for the contest, these men proceeded to a discussion which at the time was so interesting as to enchain the attention of the Nation—in its immediate effect so striking as to affect the organization of parties, in its subsequent effect so powerful as to change the fate of millions."

Mr Blaine was about to see the fulfillment of his own

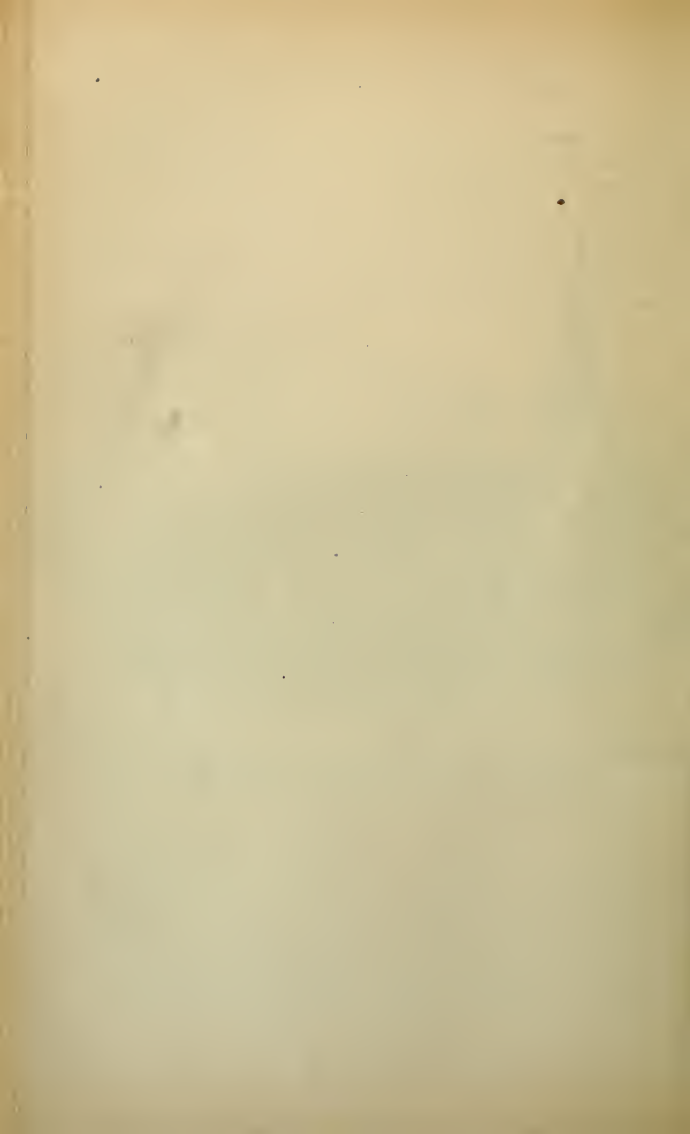
prophecy, and to lend effective aid to the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. He was one of the delegates to the Convention, and threw himself with ardor into the campaign, and ever afterwards, in the struggles of the war, and in the contest for re-nomination in 1864, he was at times a confidential adviser of the President, and always his steadfast friend. In the dark days which followed Mr. Lincoln's election, Mr. Blaine's voice and action in legislation and out of it was a very trumpet call to duty and patriotism.

A speech never to be forgotten was the one delivered by him on the 7th of February, 1862, on the resolutions sent down by the State Senate to the House for concurrence, endorsing the Administration of Abraham Lincoln, and stating "that it is the duty of Congress to provide for the confiscation of the estates of the rebels and the liberation of their slaves, and for accepting the services of all able-bodied men, of whatever status, as military necessity may require." These resolutions found an opponent in Mr. Gould, of Thomaston, who made an elaborate argument against them. To him Blaine replied. He discussed the question in two phases—first, as to the *power* of Congress to adopt such measures; secondly, as to the *expediency* of adopting them. He denied that the war power in this Government is lodged wholly in the President; he held with Hamilton, and all constitutional lawyers, from Marshall to Webster, that Congress had no limitation on its authority to provide for the common defense in any manner.

At the origin of our Government, Mr. Chairman, the people were jealous of their liberties; they gave power guardedly and grudgingly to their rulers; they were hostile, above all things, to what is termed the one-man power, and you cannot but observe with what peculiar care they provided against the abuse of the war power. For after giving Congress the power "to declare war, and to raise and support armies," they added in the Con-



ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AT BROWNSVILLE, PA., AND THE CEMETERY
WHERE BLAINE'S PARENTS ARE BURIED.



stitution these remarkable and emphatic words, "but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years," which is precisely the period for which the Representatives in the popular branch are chosen. Thus, sir, this power was not given to Congress simply, but in effect it was given to the House of Representatives; the people placing it where they could lay their hands directly upon it at every biennial election, and say "yes" or "no" to the principles or policy of any war.

In all that I am thus maintaining in regard to the supreme war power of Congress, I make no conflict between that and the Executive power, which in war, as well as in all matters of civil administration, belongs to the President. The question at issue between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself is not whether the President has power of great magnitude in the conduct of a war, for that I readily admit, or rather I stoutly affirm; but the point at issue is, which is superior in authority, Congress or the President? I think I have shown that the Constitution vests the supreme unlimited power in Congress, and that the President must obey the direction of Congress, as the chief executive officer of the nation, and at the same time he must be held accountable for the mode in which his subordinate officers execute the trusts confided to them.

Mr. Gould had denied the existence of a civil war, and that the rebels had, therefore, full right to the protection of property, guaranteed by the Constitution, and could only be deprived of it by due process of law. Blaine scornfully rejoins:

To assume the ground of the gentleman from Thomaston with its legitimate sequences, is practically to give up the contest. For he tells you, and he certainly repeated it a score of times, that you cannot deprive these rebels of their property except "by due process of law," and at the same time he confesses that within the rebel territory it is impossible to serve any process or enforce any verdict. He at the same time declares that we have not belligerent rights because the contest is not a civil war. Pray, what kind of a war is it? The gentleman acknowledges that the rebels are traitors, and if so they must be engaged

in some kind of war, because the Constitution declares that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them." It is, therefore, war on their side. It must also be war on ours, and if so, what kind of war?

Mr. Gould rose and said that he would define it as *domestic* war.

Mr. Blaine:

Domestic war! that's it! Well, Mr. Chairman, we shall learn something before this discussion is over. Domestic war! I have heard of *domestic* woollens, *domestic* sheetings, and *domestic* felicity, but a "domestic war" is something entirely new under the sun. All the writers of international law that I have ever read, speak of two kinds of war, foreign and civil. Vattel will, I suppose, have a new edition with annotations by Gould, in which "domestic war" will be defined and illustrated as a contest not quite foreign, not quite civil, but one in which the rebellious party have at one and the same time all the rights of peaceful citizens and all the immunities of alien enemies—for that is precisely what the gentleman by his argument claims for the Southern secessionists.

By a whole cloud of unimpeachable authorities on constitutional and international law, he further demonstrated that the war power of Congress extended to interference with the institution of slavery; that if Mr. Gould's *contention* were true, the honor would be sacrificed.

The gentleman strove elaborately to prove that this Government, this Nation, this great American people have no right to do anything not distinctly warranted in the Federal Constitution. Sir, no position could be more radically erroneous, and that false premise is the corner-stone of error on which the gentleman has reared such a superstructure of wrong deductions and conclusions. I affirm, sir, in opposition to this assumption, that the American people have rights which are anterior to and wholly independent of the Constitution; and I affirm, moreover, that while that precious instrument will continue to be, God grant for these many generations, the rule of our civil adminis-

tration, yet that over it and under it and outside of it and above it there is engraven on the hearts of this people that God-given right, that great precept of nature, "Save thyself!" And I maintain, sir, that the great law of self-preservation which in the individual knows no limit but necessity, is even stronger in a nation, by as much as the interests and importance of a nation transcend those of an individual. In the magnificent paragraph which I quote from Mr. Hamilton, this self-evident truth is thus tersely enunciated: "The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason *no constitutional shackles* can be wisely imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed." I have now, sir, at somewhat greater length than I designed when I rose, discussed the question of constitutional power, so far as it is brought into issue by the pending resolves. I have endeavored to establish as essential to the maintenance of my position two propositions: First, that the war power of this Government is lodged in Congress; and second, that under every principle and every precedent of international law the Government of the United States, while sovereign over all, has, so long as the rebellion endures, all the rights of war against those who in armed force are seeking the life of the nation. The first resolve, endorsing the Administration in general terms, is, I believe, not objected to in any quarter, and is not in dispute between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself. The only objection I have to it, is that it is cold and stiff and formal, whereas to reflect my feelings it should be warm and cordial and unreserved. I am for the Administration through and through—being an early and unflinching believer in the ability, the honesty and patriotism of Abraham Lincoln, I did in my humble sphere, both with pen and tongue, all I could to promote his election.

Then passing to the third resolution, respecting the military employment of negroes, Mr. Blaine said:

The resolution must be taken and judged by itself—its own words. It simply declares that the services of all men should be accepted—this implies that the service is previously offered, and

expressly negatives the idea of calling on the negroes "to rise." It further says, that these men should be employed as "military necessity and the safety of the Republic may demand." I do not anticipate that any necessity will arise for arming the slaves, and as at present advised, I would not vote for a resolution recommending that step. But there are a thousand things which the negroes may do, which would greatly lighten the labors of our brave brethren in the ranks of the National army. They may dig trenches, throw up embankments, labor on fortifications, aid in transporting baggage, and make themselves "generally useful."

But in conclusion, after thus demonstrating that these proposed measures proposed nothing which may not be properly done under the Constitution, that they were moderate, conservative and well-guarded, and after expressing his conviction that the rebellion would be subdued without resorting to extra constitutional measures, he assumed a loftier tone. Like all true patriots in the supreme moments of the country's danger, he felt that there was something far higher than mere constitutional formulas, something far more precious than mere observance of the letter of the law. In politics, as in religion, it is the letter that killeth, the spirit that maketh alive, and Mr. Blaine boldly avowed his willingness to disregard the former but observe the latter.

But lest the gentleman should infer that I shrink from the logical consequences of some propositions which I have laid down as ultimate steps, I tell him boldly that if the life of the nation seemed to demand the violation of the Constitution, I would violate it, and in taking this ground I am but repeating the expression of President Lincoln in his message, when he declared that "it were better to violate one provision than that all should perish." And I will give a higher and more venerable authority than President Lincoln, for the same doctrine. No less a personage than Thomas Jefferson wrote the following sentiments in a letter to J. R. Calvin, from his retirement at

Monticello, September 22, 1810: "The question you propose, whether circumstances do not sometimes occur, which make it a duty, in officers of high trust, to assume authorities beyond the law, is easy of solution in principle, but sometimes embarrassing in practice. A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless *one* of the high duties of a good citizen; but it is not the *highest*. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written law, would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property, and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means." This doctrine cuts right athwart, and scatters to the four winds of heaven the whole argument of the gentleman. He sticks to forms; I go for substance. He sacrifices the end to the means; I stand ready to use the means essential to the end. I stand with, or rather follow after, Jefferson and Lincoln; he assumes a ground which both of those statesmen have denounced and execrated.

I read in the President's Message something more than a great proposition for compensated emancipation. I read in it a declaration as plain as language can make it, that resolute measures may be deemed necessary to crush out the rebellion speedily and effectually, will be unhesitatingly adopted.

Who can tell how powerfully these noble speeches strengthened the hands of the Government at Washington? They proved that in all sections of our country there were men whose hearts were in the right place, who saw clearly the errors to be avoided and the remedies to be applied, and who, careless of all things but their duty to the people, were willing to make any sacrifices.

Mr. Blaine was four times elected to the Legislature of his State, and in the beginning of his third term was elected Speaker, an office he held in his fourth term also. During these eventful years in the history of the nation, when a large and powerful party within our lines was laboring to restrain

the action of the Federal Government, and expressing a modified sympathy for the rebellion, Blaine was one of the noble band who stood firm from first to last, and lent all his powers and influence to guide the nation into a harbor of safety. In the Chair of the Maine house of legislation Mr. Blaine learned by experience the art of ruling men. It is no easy task at any time to preside over the deliberations of a legislature ; it requires a knowledge of men and of measures, statesmanship to deal with the latter and consummate tact with the former ; how arduous must it have been to guide and moderate the course of legislation in a time that so tried the hearts of men, when neither weakness nor passion had any part to play, and when the country was to be saved !

The experience gained in Maine was soon to be repeated in a larger scene. In 1862, on the resignation of the representation of Augusta district in Congress by Aaron P. Morrill, the choice of the people sent James G. Blaine to Washington. Before the Convention met it was clear that he was the man whom the constituency, one of the most intelligent, disinterested, and patriotic in the country, would elect to represent it in this crisis of our history. The speeches he had made had revealed a breadth of view and a statesmanship worthy of any legislative assembly and of any period of our national annals. Mr. Blaine had been calm, sagacious, far-seeing, yet at the same time resolute to observe the limits of the Constitution, and active in urging all necessary measures. Homes of thousands had been rendered desolate by war, every family felt the pressure of taxation. The nation was in that state of excitement which has often produced infractions of liberty. Strong heads and cool heads were needed in council ; the best men were sent to Congress, without reference to local questions or factional prejudice. Among these best men, James Gillespie Blaine was not the least conspicuous.

CHAPTER V.

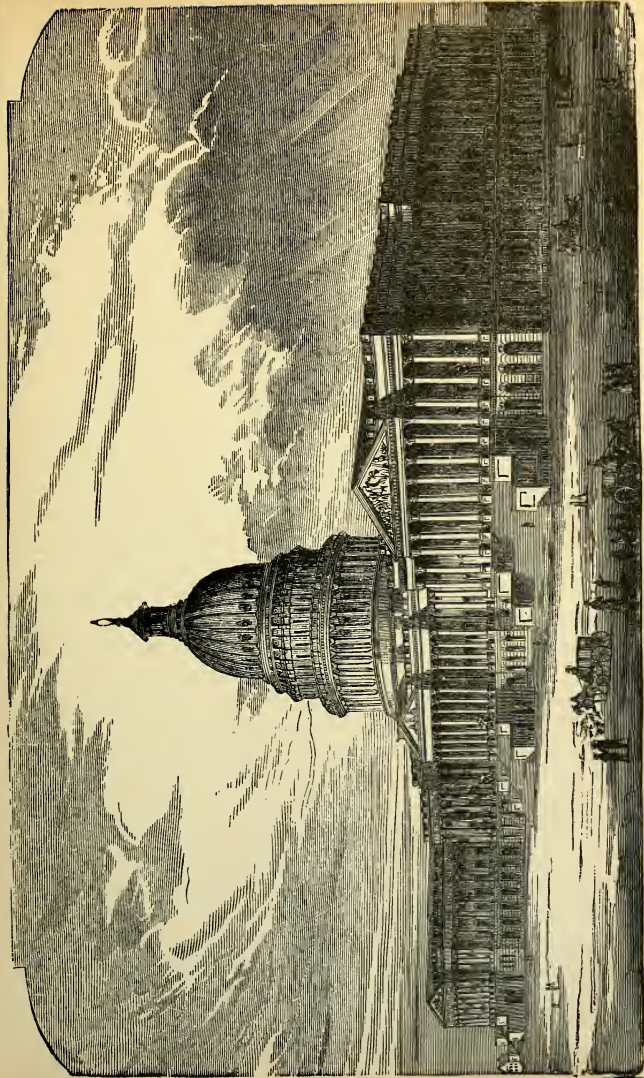
BLAINE'S FIRST TERM IN CONGRESS.

The first term in Congress.—His address to the Convention.—His contemporaries.—Service on Committees.—His support of Lincoln.—Tilts with S. S. Cox.—Free Trade.—Protected States.—Blaine of Maine.—Negro troops.—Their bravery.—Ought they to be retained?—Animated debate with S. S. Cox.

THE election of Mr. Blaine to represent his State in the great council of the Nation at Washington was triumphant, his majority being over three thousand. In the address to the Convention that nominated him, he had clearly stated his views of the first duty of the Government at that terrible time. "The first object with us all is to overthrow the rebellion, speedily, effectually, and finally. In our march to the end we want to crush all intervening obstacles. If slavery or any other institution appears in the way, it must be removed. Perish all things else, the National life must be saved." These are but a repetition of the sentiments he had expressed in the House of Legislature, and that he had often repeated in Congress, where opposition to the conduct of the war was more open than it had ever been in the loyal Pine Tree State. Mr. Blaine entered the halls of our National assembly, pledged to stand heartily by the Administration of Abraham Lincoln and to support his policy.

Mr. Blaine set to work in earnest to qualify himself to take a prominent part in the conduct of affairs. He devoted himself zealously to the work of the committees on which he was

appointed to serve, and soon proved that he had mastered the subjects before them thoroughly. Service on committees is too often overlooked by superficial judges of a politician's career; the labor in them is obscure and not calculated to dazzle the multitude like brilliant displays of oratory. Yet, we must remember that it is in the committees that the work of Congress is done; in them the facts are collected, the inquiries made, and the plans drafted on which formal legislation is based; from them all measures spring, and by them every detail is settled. In the committee-room there is a business atmosphere, and nothing but hard common sense is heard. When Mr. Blaine had gained a reputation among his colleagues on committees for careful and exhaustive study of all questions brought before him, he was consulted by intelligent and observing men outside of the committee-rooms, as an authority whose judgment could not be blinded and whose conduct was beyond impeachment. In those dangerous times when the fate of armies, nay, even of the Nation, was in the balance, such qualities as Mr. Blaine displayed were of higher value to the country than mere resounding displays of eloquence. Perhaps the most important committees on which Mr. Blaine served at this early period were those on Militia and on Post Offices, to which he had been appointed by Speaker Colfax. He did not speak often, and his words were always weighty when some subject of importance called him to address the Chair; the motions he made and the objections he offered were always effective and well considered, and in this respect his training as Speaker of the Maine Legislature was of inestimable value; it had given him a perfect knowledge of that most difficult subject, Parliamentary Law, and thus he could see at once when a motion or a point of order would accomplish more than an eloquent speech.



His personal influence was not at first felt so much as that of some of the more demonstrative members who, with him, made in this year their appearance in National politics, but it steadily increased as his acquaintance with his colleagues extended. His knowledge of debate, his mastery of facts, his broad judgment, soon told on his associates, and he was recognized as one of the master minds of the Legislature. Among those who sat with him in his first term were Elihu B. Washburn, W. S. Holman, Dan W. Voorhees, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, Oakes Ames, W. R. Morrison, J. A. Kasson, W. Windom, James F. Wilson, S. S. Cox, Henry L. Dawes, George S. Boutwell, Foster E. Fenton, M. Russell Thayer, Thaddeus Stevens, James Brooks, George H. Pendleton, James A. Garfield, and others well known to fame, who gladly extended the hand of welcome to the experienced parliamentarian from Maine.

The excitement in which the Nation lived was intensified within the walls of Congress. News of battle came in, telling of glorious victory or terrible defeat ; in either case calling for immediate action by the Legislature, and laying on them fresh responsibilities. Important measures such as had never entered before into the consideration of perhaps any legislative body in the world had to be taken, and they had to be carried by arguments based on sound reason, not arrays of precedents. Such were the question of the slaves held by or escaping from the rebels, the negotiations with the Confederate chiefs, the treatment of traitors, and the status of prisoners of war ; such were the issue of paper money, the construction of a navy, the drafting of men into the army, the public debt, and, above all and through all, the ever present question of the emancipation of the slaves. Here, indeed, in this bald enumeration, was work for an army of statesmen. How nobly they accomplished it, history tells and will tell to our latest posterity; and in all

this labor Blaine was no indifferent sharer. On every question he went repeatedly on record, and it may be said to his honor, that of all the votes he gave and of all the measures he advocated, every one was, either at once or since, approved by the Nation, such was the consummate foresight he displayed. "Dare to do right" was Blaine's motto, "and leave the rest to infinite wisdom."

During his first term of service, Mr. Blaine made some speeches which excited universal attention. Like all his addresses, they were strictly devoted to the subject before the House; they contained statements of universal truths, and expressed views of policy as sound to-day as they were when uttered. It may, indeed, be said that from Mr. Blaine's speeches can be extracted a whole system of political wisdom, for he bases his every argument on eternal principles.

To the doctrines of free trade Mr. Blaine gave attentive examination, and a speech in its favor by Mr. S. S. Cox, in which he described New England as consisting of "protected States," called forth from Blaine a defense of his own State of Maine.

It has grown to be a habit in this House, Mr. Chairman, to speak of New England as a unit, and in assailing the New England States to class them together, as has been done to-day, by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Cox), throughout his entire speech. In response to such attacks, each particular Representative from a New England State might feel called upon to defend the whole section. For myself, sir, I take a different view. I have the honor to represent in part *one* State, the State of Maine, and I have no more to do with the local and particular interests of the rest of New England than with any other State in the Union. The other New England States are ably represented on the floor, and it would be officious and arrogant in me to speak for them. But when the gentleman from Ohio pre-

sumes to charge here that the State I represent receives from Federal legislation any undue protection to her local interests, he either ignorantly or willfully misrepresents the case so grossly, that for ten minutes I will occupy the attention of this House in correcting him.

Sir, I am tired of such talk as the gentleman from Ohio has indulged in to-day, and in so far as it includes my own State as being a pensioner upon the General Government, or dependent upon the bounty of any other State, I hurl back the charge with scorn. If there be a State in this Union that can say with truth that her Federal connection confers no special benefit of a material character, that State is Maine. And yet, sir, no State is more attached to the Federal Union than Maine. Her affection and her pride are centered in the Union, and God knows she has contributed of her best blood and treasure without stint in supporting the war for the Union; and she will do so to the end. But she resents, and I, speaking for her, resent the insinuation that she derives any undue advantage from Federal legislation, or that she gets a single dollar she does not pay back.

This much, sir, I have felt called upon to say in response to the elaborate and carefully prepared speech of the gentleman from Ohio. I have spoken in vindication of a State that is as independent and as proud as any within the limits of the Union. I have spoken for a people as high-toned and as honorable as can be found in the wide world. I have spoken for a particular class—many of them my constituents—who are as manly and as brave as ever faced the ocean's storm. And so long, sir, as I have a seat on this floor, the State of Maine shall not be slandered by the gentleman from Ohio, or by gentlemen from any other State.

From this gallant defense of his State, it will be seen that the term "Blaine of Maine" expresses a closer connection, and warmer attachment, than such designation of a member usually implies.

The slave question was, of course, one that early excited

debate. Blaine advocated their enlistment into our armies. Mr. Mallory, of Kentucky, accused the negro troops of cowardice. "My friend from Maine," he said, "who seems to be listening so attentively, lived in Kentucky once, and knows the negro and his attributes, and he knows, if he will tell you what he knows, that they won't fight."

Mr. Blaine—From a residence of five years in Kentucky I came to the conclusion from what I saw of the negroes that there was a great deal of fight in them. I have entire faith—and if I had not, I would never vote a dollar of appropriation for these negro troops—that well-trained and disciplined negroes will make good troops. I do not believe they will make as good troops as white men, and I do not value any white man's opinion who does think so. * * * Now I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if he believes that a thousand white men, of the Kentucky race—and I believe that no more gallant race than the Kentuckians ever lived—unarmed and undrilled, would have stood any better before the rebel musketry than the negroes themselves did.

On the same session a debate on the restoration of slaves to their owners took place. It is worth quoting as a specimen of Mr. Blaine's force in debate, his readiness of retort and skill in fence, when matched with an antagonist like S. S. Cox.

"The laws of the United States," said Mr. Blaine, "now allow the enlistment of negroes, and there are a great many slaves of Union men in the service."

Mr. Cox—Come to the question ; I want the question, but do not make it too sharp.

Mr. Blaine—Those negroes are regularly enlisted in the army, and I want to know if the gentleman would return them to their alleged owners ? Do not dodge the question by saying that the commissioner will decide the case when it arises. Here is a negro in the ranks of the army, belonging to a loyal owner. Would he

return that negro to his master? I do not want the gentleman to go off and say that the commissioner would decide so and so; I wish him to give the House his own view of the law.

Mr. Cox—The gentleman does not want me to answer the question except just as he wishes I should.

Mr. Blaine—I want you to answer yes or no.

Mr. Cox—Learn to put your question directly, without preface.

Mr. Blaine—Would the gentleman return to a loyal owner his slave, found in the ranks of the Union army, fighting for the preservation of the Government? Is that direct enough for the impatient gentleman?

Mr. Cox—I would return any slave stolen from his legal master, and let that slave take the consequences of the military law.

Mr. Blaine—I hear the answer of the gentleman from Ohio, but I cannot catch its meaning.

Mr. Cox—And I guess that very few people ever catch their slaves under present circumstances. [Laughter.]

Mr. Blaine—Then I understand the gentleman to say that unless the slave be stolen he would not return him?

Mr. Cox—If I were a commissioner, under the law, I would return every man whom the law required to be returned.

Mr. Blaine—But does the law require a man to be returned who is in the ranks of the Union army? The gentleman skillfully attempts to evade that question.

Mr. Cox—The gentleman skillfully puts a question, and doggedly shuts his ears to the answer. The law was never made in view of a condition of things like the present.

Mr. Blaine—Then I understand the gentleman to say that he would return men to slavery from the ranks of the Union army?

Mr. Cox—I would return any man now in arms who has been wrongfully taken from his master, and then I would let the proper tribunal decide whether he properly belonged to the military service or not.

Mr. Blaine—Are the men who are in the army wrongfully taken?

Mr. Cox—I ask the gentleman that. *Were* they wrongfully taken?

Mr. Blaine—No, sir.

Mr. Cox—Then I have nothing more to say to the gentleman on that point. The answer is obvious.

Mr. Blaine—Yes, but obvious as the answer may be, the gentleman fails to give it. But I will put another question. Suppose a runaway slave, one not taken by law from his master, enlists and is found in the ranks of the Union army, and is claimed as a fugitive slave, what does he think about that?

Mr. Cox—I will tell the gentleman what I think about it. I opposed putting the black men in the army in the first place. I said there would be trouble about the exchange of prisoners. I warned the House against that policy earnestly, in the interest of our white soldiers, who have been kept in prison by reason of this infamous military policy as to black soldiers. I do not believe the army has been strengthened one jot or tittle by the black men. I believe they are a positive weakness to the Union army and the Union cause. General Grant does not use them. He does not put them in the front. He does not fight them. He knows their worth or worthlessness. He uses them where he can, but takes care where he places them.

Mr. Blaine—Let me tell the gentleman that there are more than one hundred and fifty wounded negroes in one hospital at Fortress Monroe.

Mr. Cox—The gentleman may find one hundred and fifty blacks wounded out of one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. They were with Butler. The wonder is that any escaped. But General Grant is too skillful and able a general to put himself and black men against General Lee and his white men.

Mr. Blaine—I do not see the pertinency of that to my question.

Mr. Cox—I will show the gentleman. I would be willing to let the black soldiers in our army be taken home to their loyal owners, and if the war must go on, leave to the white men the honor and duty of carrying on the war for the constitutional liberties of white men.

Mr. Blaine—Precisely; but I still fail to see the pertinency of

the gentleman's harangue. I recognize in it the sentiment and the phrases of a stump speech, which I had the pleasure of hearing from him more than once before. But it has no relevancy to my question.

Mr. Cox—The gentleman is mistaken. I never discussed the subject-matter of this question before in my life. He imagines it to be a stump speech, because, in his familiar parlance, it is a *stumper* to him. True, I gave him a general answer.

Mr. Blaine—Quite a general one.

Mr. Cox—Then I will not yield any further. If I cannot make him understand, it is not my fault.

Mr. Blaine—Not at all.

Mr. Cox—I do not think the gentleman is so stupid as that he cannot understand it. The trouble is, he does not want to understand it.

Mr. Blaine—I understand distinctly that the gentleman does not wish to give me a direct answer.

The professed jester of the House, as Mr. S. S. Cox has striven to become, had no victory to boast of in the encounter, either for his jokes or his argument.

CHAPTER VI.

BLAINE'S SECOND TERM IN CONGRESS.

His letter of acceptance: "We must preserve the Union."—Service on Committees.—Debate with Conkling.—The struggle for supremacy.—Reimbursement of the war expenses of the loyal States.—Export duty *vs.* Excise.—Eloquent picture of the country's future.—Maintenance of the National credit.

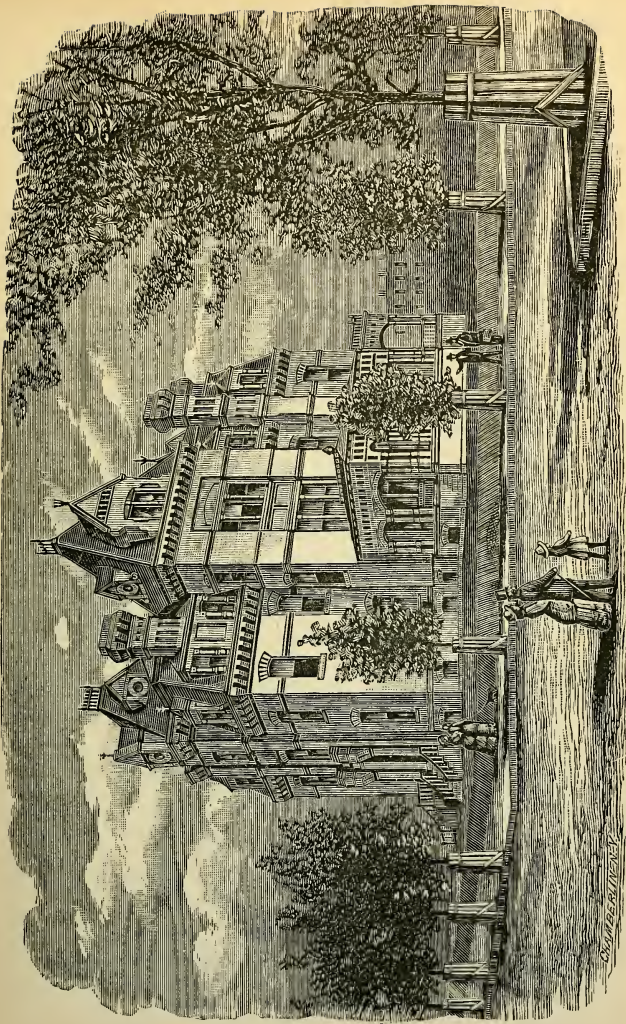
WHEN the fall elections of 1864 were to take place, there was no doubt about one of the Representatives from Maine. His gallant defense of his State, his devotion to national business, his outspoken sentiments on national questions, insured Blaine's renomination and his triumphant return. He addressed a letter of acceptance to the Convention, and his own words show clearly what the great issues before the people were, and how he, the candidate, regarded them:

AUGUSTA, Aug. 20th, 1864.

GEN. J. R. BACHELDER:

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your favor formally advising me that on the 10th inst., the Union Convention of the Third District unanimously nominated me for re-election as Representative in Congress. For this generous action, as well as for the cordial manner attending it, and the very complimentary phrase in which it is conveyed, I am under profound obligations. It is far easier for me to find the inspiring cause of such favor and such unanimity in the personal partiality of friends, than in any merits or services which I may justly claim as my own.

In nominating me as the Union candidate, and pledging me to no other platform, you place me on the precise ground I desire



THE HOUSE OF BIAINE'S RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHAMBERLAIN



to occupy. The controlling and absorbing issue before the American people is whether the Federal Union shall be saved or lost. In comparison with that, all other issues and controversies are subordinate, and entitled to consideration just in the degree that they may influence the end which Washington declared to be "the primary object of patriotic desire." To maintain the Union a gigantic war has been carried on, now in the fourth year of its duration, and the resources of the country, both in men and money, have been freely expended in support of it. The war was not a matter of choice with the Government, unless it was prepared to surrender its power over one-half of its territory and incur all the hazards of anarchy throughout the other half. It was begun by those who sought to overthrow the Federal authority. It should be ended the very day that authority is recognized and re-established throughout its rightful domain.

The desire for peace after the sufferings and trials of the past three years is natural. Springing from the very instincts of humanity it is irrepressible. The danger to be avoided is that in aiming to attain peace we shall be deceived by the shadow and thus fail to secure the substance. Peace on the basis of disunion is a delusion. It is no peace at all. It is but the beginning of war—more wasteful, more destructive, more cruel than we have thus far experienced. Those who cry for the "immediate cessation of the war" are the best advocates of its endless continuance. They mean peace by the recognition of Rebel Independence, and Rebel Independence is absolutely incompatible with peace.

Among the cherished errors of those who are willing to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy as the basis of peace, the most fatal is that which assumes the continued union, harmony, and power of the loyal States. This cannot be. Contentions and strifes without number would at once spring up. The border States would be convulsed with a fierce contest as to which section they would adhere to. The Pacific slope, to escape the dangers and constant embroilments which it could neither control nor avoid, would naturally seek for independence; and the Northwest, if it did not follow the example, would demand such a reconstruction of the government of the remaining States, as

would make our further connection therewith undesirable, if not absolutely intolerable. In short, disunion upon the line of the revolted States would involve the total and speedy disintegration of the Federal Government, and we would find ourselves launched on "a sea of troubles," with no pilot capable of holding the helm, and no chart to guide us on our perilous voyage.

There is indeed but one path of safety, and that is likewise the path of honor and of interest. *We must preserve the Union.* Differ as we may as to the measures necessary to that end, there shall be no difference among loyal men as to the end itself. No sacrifice we can make in our efforts to save the Union is comparable with that we should all make in losing it. He is the enemy to both sections and to the common cause of humanity and civilization, who is willing to conclude the war by surrendering the Union; and the most alarming development of the times is the disposition manifested by leading journals, by public men, and by political conventions in the loyal States to accept this conclusion. For myself, in the limited sphere of my influence I shall never consent to such a delusive settlement of our troubles. Neither at the polls as an American citizen, nor in Congress as a Representative (should I again be chosen), will I ever give a vote admitting even the possibility of ultimate failure in this great struggle for Nationality.

Very respectfully your obd't servant,

J. G. BLAINE.

The first term of Mr. Blaine had been for him a term of study. He had to learn "the ropes," as sailors say; he had to learn the tempers and prejudices, the good and the bad points of those with whom he had to deal, and he had also to study that under-current of politics which only comes into the public notice when it breaks upon the shore. Long before the journals can speak of it, long before it can be discussed in Congress, the great question is felt to be in the background, an ocean swell which politicians can only watch with the hope that they may so arrange their matters as not to be swept

away when the tidal wave of the popular excitement dashes on them. In this Congress he again occupied a position on the Committee on Military Affairs and on the Committee on War Debts of Loyal States. In the deliberations of both these committees he took a prominent share, but in the latter especially he was at once the originator of the proposition to reimburse the loyal States for their war expenses and the champion who brought it to a successful issue. His advocacy of this measure and the eloquence and command of resources he displayed in urging it through Congress stamped him as a leader. Indeed, from this time he held the predominant position in his party, which has never been challenged since. It was challenged once by Hon. Roscoe Conkling; the controversy was really for the leadership of the party, though nominally about General Fry, the Provost-Marshal-General, whom Conkling attacked and Blaine defended. Both men entered into the contest as into a personal strife, and the debate was on both sides one of the most caustic and personal in the language used that has ever been listened to in a House not unaccustomed to wordy warfare and oratorical assaults. It would be unjust to say that General Fry was forgotten in the *melee*, but it is certain, on reading the debate, that each champion saw that his political salvation was to crush his enemy. From this date we can trace the feud between the two men. At present Blaine seems to be the victor. In this chapter, where we seek to give an account of Mr. Blaine as a statesman, we need say nothing further on this struggle, which left Mr. Blaine without a rival to challenge his supremacy in the party.

The measure for reimbursing the loyal States for their war expenses was the occasion of a masterly speech by Mr. Blaine. In a Committee of the Whole House, April 12, 1864, on a special order to reimburse the State of Pennsylvania for its ex-

penses in calling out the militia during the invasion of that State by the Confederate armies, Mr. Blaine moved to substitute for the bill introduced by Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, a bill to reimburse all the loyal States for the charges they had incurred. He had in the preceding January called the attention of the House to this subject by submitting a resolution, and now he desired the action of the House on the bill proposed. There had been, he urged, a legitimate expenditure in all the States for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion; these expenditures were necessary and made in good faith for the defense and preservation of the national life, and should be refunded by the National Government. Such reimbursement was just and expedient, and ought to come from the National Treasury.

If the twenty-four loyal States, now striving, with patriotic rivalry, to outdo each other in defending and rescuing the nation from its perils, were hereafter to constitute the entire Union, there might be nothing gained and nothing lost to any one of them, by consolidating their respective war debts into one common charge upon the aggregate resources of the nation. Under such circumstances each State would be freed from an individual tax only to incur a burden of similar magnitude in meeting its component part of the total national debt. But the actual case, presented for our consideration and decision, is far different from this. We are engaged in a struggle which must inevitably result in restoring to loyalty, and to duty, eleven States now in rebellion against the authority of the National Government. And beyond that, as a consequence of a restored Union, and of the boundless prosperity which awaits the auspicious event, our vast Western domain will be peopled with a rapidity exceeding all precedent, and States without number almost will spring into existence, to add to the strength and insure the perpetuity of our Government. Well-considered estimates based on past progress, and the established ratio of our advance in wealth and population, assure us that within less than a century from this time we

shall have added forty new States to our Union, making, with the number now composing it, a grand total of seventy-five prosperous Commonwealths. Were it not for the blood so freely poured out, and the treasure so lavishly expended by the twenty-four loyal States represented on this floor, the eleven States now in revolt would not be saved from self-destruction, and the forty States so speedily to grow up in the Mississippi valley and on the Pacific slope would never come into existence.

Of the immense national debt which we are incurring in this struggle, each State will, of course, have to bear a share; but it is quite manifest that for two generations to come, owing to our established system of taxation, the present loyal States will have to endure vastly the larger proportion of the total burden. Is it fair or just, that in addition to this they shall each be called upon to bear, unaided, a large local debt, necessarily, and yet generously, incurred in aid of the one common object of preserving the life of the whole nation? The question which I present, therefore, is not one for dispute or difference between any of the States here represented, for they all have a common interest in adopting the proposed measure. The financial issue is rather between the twenty-four loyal States on the one hand, and the eleven revolted States, together with all future new States, on the other. We have it in our power to-day to determine the matter upon principles of the highest equity, and at the same time for the interest of the loyal States, who are bearing the heat and burden of the great contest.

Such had been the course adopted by the fathers of the Republic after the Revolutionary War, not without thorough discussion by the great statesmen of the day. It must not be urged, he said, that the Nation could not bear the additional burden of debt which such reimbursements would entail; the Nation could bear a far greater burden.

The war closing in July, 1865, will leave us in this condition: a nation numbering some thirty-three millions of people, owning over sixteen thousand millions of property, and carrying a debt

of twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. The proportion between debt and property will be just about the same that it was when the Union was formed, while the ratio of our advance and the largely enhanced productiveness of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits, gives the present generation an advantage that renders the debt far less burdensome at the very outset.

And if the revolutionary debt became in a very brief period so light as to be unnoticed, why may we not, with a vastly accelerated ratio of progress, assume a similar auspicious result with regard to the debt we are now contracting? Were our future advance in wealth and population to be no more rapid than Great Britain's has been since 1815, we should at the close of the present century have a population of forty-five million souls, and a property amounting to fifty thousand millions of dollars. Even upon this ratio of progress our entire debt would cease to be felt as a burden. But upon the increase of population and development of wealth to be so assuredly anticipated, the debt would be so small, in comparison with the total resources of the nation, as to become absolutely inconsiderable.

Then in a peroration as remarkable for the logical co-ordination and the clear exposition of the facts he marshaled, as for the simple yet most effective eloquence in which his conclusions are expressed, he drew a striking picture of the future before us.

To those who may be disposed to doubt the future progress of our country according to the ratio assumed, a few familiar considerations in respect to our resources may be recalled with advantage. We occupy a territory at least three million square miles in extent; within a fraction as large as the whole of Europe. Our habitable and cultivable area is indeed larger than that of all Europe, to say nothing of the superior fertility and general productiveness of our soil. So vast is our extent that though we may glibly repeat its numerical measure, we find it most difficult to form any just conception of it. The State of Texas alone is

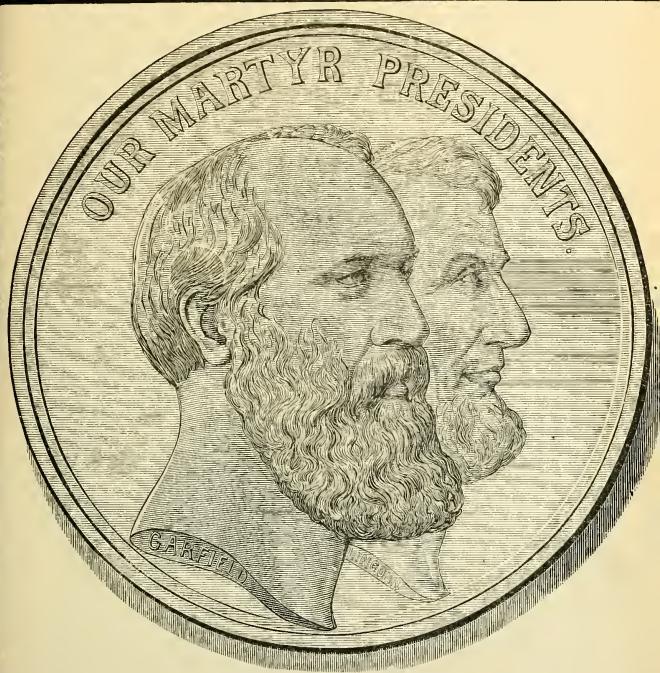
equal in area to the Empire of France and the kingdom of Portugal united ; and yet these two monarchies support a population of forty millions, while Texas has but six hundred thousand inhabitants. Or, if we wish for a comparative measure nearer home, let me state that the area of Texas is greater than that of the six New England States, together with New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania and Ohio and Indiana all combined. California, the second State in size, is equal in extent to the kingdom of Spain and the kingdom of Belgium together. Spain and Belgium have twenty millions of people, while California has not half a million. And we might pursue this species of comparison almost indefinitely, clearly showing that in capacity and assured destiny our individual States, if peaceful and united, are to become as wealthy, as populous, and as powerful as the separate great nations of Europe. Mere territorial extent does not, of course, imply future greatness, though it is one great requisite to it. And in our case it is so vast an element that we may be pardoned for dwelling on it with emphasis and iteration. The land that is still in the hands of our Government, not sold nor even pre-empted, amounts to a thousand millions of acres—an extent of territory thirteen times as large as Great Britain, and equal in area to all the kingdoms of Europe, with Russia and Turkey alone excepted.

Combined with this almost limitless expanse of territory we have facilities for the acquisition and consolidation of wealth—varied, magnificent, and immeasurable. Our agricultural resources, bounteous and boundless by nature, are, by the application of mechanical skill and labor-saving machinery, receiving a development each decade, which a century in the past would have failed to secure, and which a century in the future will place beyond all present power of computation—giving us so far the lead in the production of those staple articles essential to life and civilization that we become the arbiter of the world's destiny without aiming at the world's empire. The single State of Illinois, cultivated to its capacity, can produce as large a crop of cereals as has ever been grown within the limits of the United States ; while Texas, if peopled but half as densely as Maryland

even, could give an annual return of cotton larger than the largest that has ever been grown in all the cotton States together. Our facilities for commerce and exchange, both domestic and foreign—who shall measure them? Our oceans, our vast inland seas, our marvelous and unlimited flow of navigable streams, our canals, our network of railroads more than thirty thousand miles in extent, greater than the railroads of all Europe and all the world besides—*these* give us avenues of trade and channels of communication, both natural and artificial, such as no other nation has ever enjoyed, and which tend to the production of wealth with a rapidity not to be measured by any standard of the past. The enormous field for manufacturing industry in all its complex and endless variety—with our raw material, our wonderful motive-power both by water and steam, our healthful climate, our cheap carriage, our home consumption, our foreign demand—foreshadows a traffic whose magnitude and whose profit will in no long period surpass the gigantic industrial system of Great Britain, where to-day the cunning hands of ten million artisans accomplish, with mechanical aid, the work of six hundred millions of men! Our mines of gold and silver and iron and copper and lead and coal, with their untold and unimaginable wealth, spread over millions of acres of territory, in the valley, on the mountain-side, along rivers, yielding already a rich harvest, are destined yet to increase a thousand-fold, until their every-day treasures,

“familiar grown,
Shall realize Orient’s fabled wealth.”

These are the great elements of material progress; and they comprehend the entire circle of human enterprise—agriculture, commerce, manufactures, mining. They assure to us a growth in property and population that will surpass the most sanguine deductions of our census tables, framed as those tables are upon the ratios and relations of our progress in the past. They give into our hands, under the blessing of Almighty God, the power to command our fate as a Nation. They hold out to us the grandest future reserved for any people; and with this promise they teach us the lesson of patience, and make confidence and



DURING BLAINE'S TWENTY YEARS IN CONGRESS.

fortitude a duty. With such amplitude and affluence of resources, and with such a vast stake at issue, we should be unworthy of our lineage and our inheritance if we for one moment distrusted our ability to maintain ourselves a united people, with "one country, one constitution, one destiny."

This has the ring of true patriotism and true eloquence, unsullied by the artifices of rhetoric, sincere and self-restrained, although dealing with a subject where an inferior master of parliamentary oratory might have been tempted to embellish his speech with all the brilliancy of declamation for which an opportunity was afforded, in this glowing prophesy of the future grandeur of the Nation.

Many other subjects that came up before Congress, received light from Mr. Blaine's discussion; appropriations for the army, the registry of vessels, and the whole question of reconstruction were treated by him in a way convincing at once to his immediate audience and to the people throughout the land.

His speech on the taxing of exports attracted the widest possible attention. The subject was novel, the proposition was daring, the arguments he used, cogent. It may be that economic changes have deprived the proposal of the strong reasons he then alleged, but as part of the history of Mr. Blaine's career as a statesman it deserves a summary, for it contains some deeply thought-out passages. He proposed to amend the Federal Constitution by striking out the clause prohibiting the taxing of exports. A resolution introduced by him on the 24th of March, 1864, had been already adopted in the House, by which the Judiciary Committee were directed to inquire as to the expediency of striking out the said clause (Sec. 14, Art. 1, Clause 5), and in the following December the subject had been again referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, and although there seemed no chance of securing a vote on the question, he could not now refrain from saying

a few words in support of such an amendment. He quoted a long series of opinions by the framers and signers of the Constitution, in which many of them expressed the gravest doubts as to the wisdom of such a prohibitory clause, and continued:

I have cited enough to show that this prohibitory clause was not inserted in the Constitution without very serious opposition from many of the leading minds of the Convention. The citation I have made demonstrates also that their opposition was not based on narrow, local, and sectional grounds, but that it sprang from great national considerations, overriding all these. Neither the support nor hostility to the measure was determined by geographical lines. Thus much, Mr. Speaker, as to the origin of this prohibitory clause, with the circumstances attending its adoption. Stoutly as its introduction was resisted, it has remained in the Constitution without cavil or question from that day to this—a proposition to strike it out never having been submitted in Congress prior to the one I am now discussing. Indeed, the perfect ease with which the National treasury has been filled from tariff duties, up to the beginning of the present war, continually obviated the necessity of looking to other sources of revenue, and hence very naturally little thought has been given to the immense sum that might be derived from a judicious tax on exports.

Mr. Blaine urged that such a tax was now needed “for the maintenance of our National credit,” and in the conclusion of his speech followed Mr. Madison’s argument, who demanded export duties for the “purpose of encouraging domestic manufacturers and procuring equitable treaties of commerce with foreign nations.” He spoke next of the subjects liable to such taxation:

The general and obvious distinction is to tax such and such only as have no competing product in foreign marts, or at all events such weak competition as will give us the command of the market after the commodity has paid its export dues in this country. As an illustration, take cotton, which is our leading

export in time of peace. It is believed with confidence that the American product can pay an export tax of five cents per pound, and yet with ease maintain its pre-eminence in the markets of England and the European continent. Our export in a single year has reached three million two hundred thousand bales of five hundred pounds each, and it would rapidly run beyond that figure after peace is restored and the competition of free labor is applied to its production. But if it should never go beyond the quantity named, an export tax of five cents per pound would yield a revenue of *eighty million dollars* from this single article, as any one will see by a moment's calculation.

Tobacco and naval stores also afford a large margin for an export tax, owing to the superior quality and quantity of the American production of each article.

In the case of tobacco, might we not, at all events, share with foreign nations the advantage of the enormous tax which this article of luxury will bear, making them pay a moiety into our coffers instead of monopolizing it all for their own? Should petroleum continue to be developed in such immense quantities, without being found elsewhere, it, too, will in due time bear a very considerable export tax, as, indeed, will all articles (without attempting their specific enumeration) whose production is peculiar to this country, or whose quality may be greatly superior to products of similar kind in other countries, or, in the comprehensive phrase of Mr. Madison, "articles in which America is not rivaled in foreign markets."

The fear that has often been expressed, that the Congressional power to tax exports might be used to oppress certain sections, and to discriminate against particular commodities, is manifestly groundless. It is always safe to trust to self-interest in a nation as well as in an individual. The highest National interest in the matter we are discussing, is to encourage exports in every honorable and practicable way; and the moment that an export tax should tend to check or decrease exportation, that moment it would be abolished or reduced. Of course, there must be exportation before revenue can be derived from an export tax, and hence I repeat that the interest which underlies the whole design, affords the most abso-

lute guaranty against any oppressive attempt to discriminate against any section or any particular commodity.

He then demonstrates the superior economy of collection in the case of an export duty as compared with an excise, and, further, maintained that an excise tax on raw products would be disastrous to both the producer and Government. Taking as an instance the article of cotton, he continued in favor of an export tax on this production :

Not the least advantage, Mr. Speaker, in this mode of collecting the tax, is the cheapness with which it can be done. The points of shipment of cotton are so few that you may count them on your fingers; and the tendency, owing to the converging of water-courses and railroad lines, is against any increase in the number of these ports. The same officers of customs, that are already there, to collect your tariff duties, can perform the labor of collecting the export duties, without a dollar's additional expense, beyond the salaries of a few extra clerks that the increase of business might demand. Compare with this the vast expense of sending an army of excisemen throughout all the cotton and tobacco plantations, and you will find that the system of export duties would effect a saving of millions to the Government, simply in the mode of collection. And, sir, you could invent no more offensive system of taxation than would be involved in sending your Government agents to every rural home in the planting regions, to interrogate the farmer as to the number of bales in his cotton crop, or how many pounds of tobacco he had raised. The officials, who should perambulate the country on such errands, would acquire, in popular opinion, as bad a reputation as Dr. Johnson, in his dictionary, fastened on the English exciseman, "an odious wretch, employed to collect an unjust tax."

The great statesmen whom I have quoted in the earlier portion of my remarks as against the insertion of this prohibitory clause in the Constitution, among other grounds of opposition to it, stated that an export tax might be necessary "for the

encouragement of domestic manufactures." Sir, this result would be realized in its fullest extent if cotton should be subjected to an export tax of five cents per pound, leaving that consumed at home free of duty except the excise tax, which would be levied upon it in the various forms of its manufacture. With this vast advantage in the raw material we should cease to wrangle here about tariffs, for we could in our home markets undersell the fabrics of Europe, and should soon compete with them in the markets of the world. The export tax, as compared with the excise, would thus prove beneficent to all the interests of our country, stimulating the production of the raw material and developing the manufacturing enterprise of the land in a ratio compared with which the accomplishments of the past would seem tame and inconsiderable. The Secretary of the Treasury must have open to him the three great avenues of taxation—the tariff, the excise system, and the duties on exports; and must be empowered to use each in its appropriate place by Congressional legislation. At present only two of these modes of taxation are available, and the absence of the third, in the language of an eminent statesman already quoted, "takes from the General Government half the regulation of trade." It is for Congress to say whether the people shall have an opportunity to change the organic law in this important respect, or whether, with a blind disregard of the future, we shall rush forward, reckless of the financial disasters that may result from a failure to do our duty here.

CHAPTER VII.

BLAINE'S THIRD TERM IN CONGRESS.

The Currency Question.—The Honest Dollar.—Payment of debts in gold.—Reply to General Butler.—The Five-twenty bond.—Legal Tenders.—Blaine's energy.—Skirmish with Roscoe Conkling.—Basis of representation.—Suffrage on population.—Our ships and free trade.—The Blaine Amendment.—Blaine's popularity.—In Committee and in the House.—Democratic testimony.

MR. BLAINE was of course renominated for Congress by his fellow-citizens in Maine, and entered on his work in the session of 1868 with the admiration and love of his own party and the respect of his opponents.

The great question of that eventful period was that of Currency and Finance. Many schemes were advocated which, we now see, would have imperiled the honor of our country, many which were fallacious, although proposed and supported by our ablest authorities on these important subjects. Mr. Blaine had deeply studied the intricate problem. He had already, in the previous Congress, made a record in favor of "the honest dollar," and he never swerved from his view. His brief remarks in moving to lay on the table the Gold Bill introduced by Thaddeus Stevens, ought to be read by every Greenbacker to-day. "The bill," he said, "aimed at what was impossible. *You cannot make a gold dollar worth less than it is, or a paper dollar worth more than it is by a Congressional declaration.*" And in the present Congress he again stood up for honesty in a more elaborate speech. His views on this momentous question had been formed after careful

preparation, and had a decided influence on the most prejudiced of his hearers. He forcibly and with irrefutable logic combated the opinions proposed by Mr. G. H. Pendleton, the late Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and by Mr. B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts. He said :

The position of these gentlemen I understand to be simply this: *That the principal of the United States bonds, known as the Five-twenties, may be fairly and legally paid in paper currency by the Government after the expiration of five years from the date of issue.*

A brief review of the origin of the Five-twenty bonds will demonstrate, I think, that this position is in contravention of the honor and good faith of the National Government ; that it is hostile to the spirit and the letter of the law ; that it contemptuously ignores the common understanding between borrower and lender at the time the loan was negotiated ; and that finally, even if such mode of payment were honorable and practicable, it would prove disastrous to the financial interests of the Government and the general prosperity of the country. I crave the attention and indulgence of the House while I recapitulate the essential facts in support of my assertion.

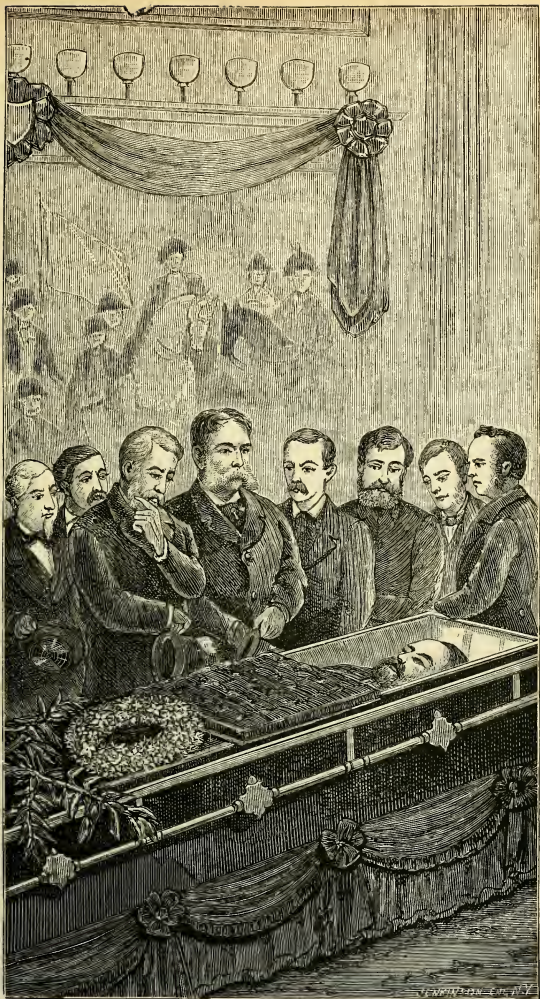
Then citing witnesses to prove that the voice of Congress had been uniform and consistent in support of the principle of paying the bonded debt in gold, he proceeded :

But, now, Mr. Speaker, suppose, for the sake of argument, we admit that the Government may fairly and legally pay the Five-twenty bonds in paper currency, what then ? I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to tell us, what then ? It is easy, I know, to issue as many greenbacks as will pay the maturing bonds, regardless of the effect upon the inflation of prices, and the general derangement of business. Five hundred millions of the Five-twenties are now payable, and according to the easy mode suggested, all we have to do is to set the printing-presses in motion, and "so long as rags and lampblack hold out" we need have no embarrassment about paying our National Debt.

But the ugly question recurs, what are you going to do with the greenbacks thus put afloat? Five hundred millions this year, and eleven hundred millions more on this theory of payment by the year 1872; so that within the period of four or five years we would only have added to our paper money the trifling inflation of sixteen hundred millions of dollars. We should all have splendid times doubtless! Wheat, under the new dispensation, ought to bring twenty dollars a bushel, and boots would not be worth more than two hundred dollars a pair, and the farmers of our country would be as well off as Santa Anna's rabble of Mexican soldiers, who were allowed ten dollars a day for their services and charged eleven for their rations and clothing. The sixteen hundred millions of greenbacks added to the amount already issued, would give us some twenty-three hundred millions of paper money, and I suppose the theory of the new doctrine would leave this mass permanently in circulation, for it would hardly be consistent to advocate the redemption of the greenbacks in gold after having repudiated and foresworn our obligation on the bonds.

But if it be intended to redeem the legal tenders in gold, what will have been the net gain to the Government in the whole transaction? If any gentleman will tell me, I shall be glad to learn how it will be easier to pay sixteen hundred millions in gold in the redemption of greenbacks, than to pay the same amount in the redemption of Five-twenty bonds? The policy advocated, it seems to me, has only two alternatives—the one to ruinously inflate the currency and leave it so, reckless of results; the other to ruinously inflate the currency at the outset, only to render redemption in gold far more burdensome in the end.

The remedy for our financial troubles, Mr. Speaker, will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction—and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis, the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment, and private business relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their consequent depression if not destruction of value, let us set resolutely to work



BLAINE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CABINET VIEWING
GARFIELD'S REMAINS.

and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars.

Discarding all such schemes as at once unworthy and unprofitable, let us direct our policy steadily, but not rashly, towards the resumption of specie payment. And when we have attained that end—easily attainable at no distant day if the proper policy be pursued—we can all unite on some honorable plan for the redemption of the Five-twenty bonds, and the issuing instead thereof a new series of bonds which can be more favorably placed at a lower rate of interest. When we shall have reached the specie basis, the value of United States securities will be so high in the money market of the world, that we can command our own terms. We can then call in our Five-twenties according to the very letter and spirit of the bond, and adjust a new loan that will be eagerly sought for by capitalists, and will be free from those elements of discontent that in some measure surround the existing funded debt of the country.

And this, Mr. Speaker, we shall do. Our National honor demands it; our National interest equally demands it. We have vindicated our claim to the highest heroism on a hundred bloody battle-fields, and have stopped at no sacrifice of life needful to the maintenance of our National integrity. I am sure that in the peace which our arms have conquered, we shall not dishonor ourselves by withholding from any public creditor a dollar that we promised to pay him, nor seek by cunning construction and clever afterthought, to evade or escape the full responsibility of our National indebtedness. It will doubtless cost us a vast sum to pay that indebtedness—but it would cost us incalculably more not to pay it.

During the Fortieth Congress the energy of Mr. Blaine was wonderful. He was in a state of ceaseless activity. Bills, speeches, reports, resolutions, occupied every moment. His work on Committees was heavier than that of any other member, and either as committee-man or originator of measures he was connected with the management of affairs concerning the army, navy, post-offices, Congressional library, Indian reserva-

tions, relief of individuals, common carriers between the States, Treasury Department, cotton tax, issue of U. S. bonds, Funding bill, Mexican treaties, foreign commerce, election cases, river and harbor improvement, funeral of ex-President Buchanan, Custom-house frauds, House Rules, military laws, the re-arrangement of the rooms of the Capitol, and even matters concerning the messengers, pages, and restaurant-keeper.

On another very important question, Mr. Blaine had taken in the Thirty-ninth Congress a clear and decided stand: it was the basis of representation in Congress. Was the basis to be the number of voters or the number of inhabitants?

After a preliminary skirmish with Roscoe Conkling, whom he described as "presenting the spectacle of the waterman in the Pilgrim's Progress who got his living by rowing in one direction while looking in another," he proceeded to his argument that population, not suffrage, ought to be the basis of representation:

Since the beginning of the present session, Mr. Chairman, we have had several propositions to amend the Federal Constitution with respect to the basis of representation in Congress. These propositions have differed somewhat in phrase, but they all embrace substantially the one idea of making suffrage instead of population the basis of apportioning Representatives; or, in other words, to give to the States in future a representation proportioned to their voters instead of their inhabitants.

The effect contemplated and intended by this change is perfectly well understood, and on all hands frankly avowed. It is to deprive the lately rebellious States of the unfair advantage of a large representation in this House, based on their colored population, so long as that population shall be denied political rights by the legislation of those States. The proposed constitutional amendment would simply say to those States, while you refuse to enfranchise your black population, you shall have no representation based on their numbers; but admit them to civil and political rights, and they shall at once be counted to your advantage in the apportionment of Representatives.

The direct object thus aimed at, as it respects the rebellious States, has been so generally approved that little thought seems to have been given to the incidental evils which the proposed constitutional amendment would inflict on a large portion of the loyal States—evils, in my judgment, so serious and alarming as to lead me to oppose the amendment in any form in which it has yet been presented. As an abstract proposition, no one will deny that population is the true basis of representation; for women, children, and other non-voting classes may have as vital an interest in the legislation of the country as those who actually deposit the ballot. Indeed, the very amendment we are discussing implies that population is the true basis, inasmuch as the exclusion of the black people of the South from political rights has suggested this indirectly coercive mode of securing them those rights. Were the negroes to be enfranchised throughout the South to-day, no one would insist on the adoption of this amendment; and yet if the amendment shall be incorporated in the Federal Constitution, its incidental evils will abide in the loyal States long after the direct evil which it aims to cure may have been eradicated in the Southern States.

Basing representation on voters, unless Congress should be empowered to define their qualification, would tend to cheapen suffrage everywhere. There would be an unseemly scramble in all the States during each decade, to increase, by every means, the number of voters, and all conservative restrictions, such as the requirement of reading and writing, now enforced in some of the States, would be stricken down in a rash and reckless effort to procure an enlarged representation in the National councils. Foreigners would be invited to vote on a mere preliminary "declaration of intention."

No question is of more vital importance to-day than the revival of our mercantile name. Twenty years ago it occupied Mr. Blaine's attention, and in a speech denouncing the granting of new American registers to ships that had been transferred to foreign owners during the war he thus spoke of ship-building and free trade :

One word more, Mr. Speaker. The whole tone of the speeches we have had from both the gentlemen from Ohio (Mr. Spaulding and Mr. Garfield) was for free trade. They urge that we shall buy our ships wherever we can get them cheapest, and that all restrictions as to registry should be abolished. Well, sir, if we are prepared to reduce this free trade theory to practice, why not have it in everything? There is no branch of American industry that is, to-day, so little protected and so much oppressed by our revenue laws as ship-building. It is taxed at all points, and nearly taxed to death; and I submit to these new advocates of free trade that it would be better to begin with some interest that is essentially protected by our laws to-day. If we are going to have free trade, let us have it equally and impartially applied to all the industrial interests of the land; but for myself, I am opposed to it altogether. *In theory and in practice, I am for protecting American industry in all its forms, and to this end we must encourage American manufactures, and we must equally encourage American commerce.*

A measure with which Mr. Blaine's name is inseparably connected is the so-called Blaine amendment. "I appeal to my friend from Pennsylvania," he said, "to allow us to add a section to the pending bill, and I ask the attention of the House while I read it:

"SEC. —. And be it further enacted, that when the constitutional amendment proposed as article fourteenth of the Thirty-ninth Congress shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States by the ratification of three-fourths of the States now represented in Congress; and when any one of the late so-called Confederate States shall have given its assent to the same and conformed its constitution and laws thereto in all respects; and when it shall have provided by its constitution that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed equally and impartially by all male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years old and upward, without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, except such as may be disfranchised for participating in the late rebellion; and when said constitution shall have been

submitted to the voters of said State, as thus defined, for ratification or rejection; and when the constitution, if ratified by the popular vote, shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, said State shall, if its constitution be approved by Congress, be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this bill shall be inoperative in said State."

Such a clause, he urged, if incorporated in the bill would be a basis of reconstruction, and bring Congress up to the declaration of making equal suffrage a condition precedent to admission. The true interpretation of the elections of 1866, he urged, was that universal or impartial suffrage should be the basis of restoration.

Why not declare it so? Why not, when you send out this military police authority to the lately rebellious States, send with it that impressive declaration? This amendment does not in the least conflict with the bill for the civil government of Louisiana which we passed to-day. It need not conflict with any enabling act you may pass in regard to the other nine States. If you choose you may follow up this action at the opening of the Fortieth Congress by passing enabling acts for the other nine States. A declaration of this kind attached to this bill will, it seems to me, have great weight and peculiar significance. It announces to these States what it is important for them to know, and what alone the Congress of the United States can authoritatively declare.

In the first place, it specifically declares the doctrine that three-fourths of the States represented in Congress have the power to adopt the constitutional amendment, and it does not even by implication give them to understand that their assent or ratification is necessary to its becoming a part of the Constitution. It implies that their assent to it is a qualification for themselves; merely an evidence, both moral and legal, of good faith

and loyalty on their part. We specially provide against their drawing the slightest inference in favor of their being a party in any degree essential to the valid ratification of that amendment.

After Blaine's nomination in 1866, a Democratic paper had expressed its satisfaction of his prospective election for a third term. "As a ready and forcible debater, a clear reasoner, a sound legislator, fearless advocate, and true supporter of the principles and organization of the party of Union and Right, he has made a mark in the annals of Congress of which he and those who elected him may be proud." And proud of him they were ; not only his own immediate constituents in the Third Congressional District of Maine, but the whole Republican party without exception ; not only Republicans, but Democrats who respected an open, honest foe, and who admired his genuine American character.

CHAPTER VIII.

BLAINE AS SPEAKER.

His three terms.—His inaugural address.—His valedictories.—His participation in debate.—Reply to General Butler's charges.—The Credit Mobilier scandal.

IT has been the lot of few men in the annals of Parliamentary government to have made to themselves an enduring reputation by their conduct in presiding over the deliberations of an assembly. In the long roll of statesmen who have filled the office of Speaker in the model and parent of modern popular assemblies, the English House of Commons, only two of its presiding officers have so identified themselves with their high office, or so impressed on that high office such a stamp of their own potent individuality, as to be known to a distant posterity by the inseparable title of Speaker. We can only recall in English annals the names of Speaker Lenthall and Speaker Onslow. The others may have defied monarchs, or faced calmly popular tumult, but these two alone survive in history with the proud appellation of their office. Whatever may be Mr. Blaine's future, whether he be President or Senator, he will perhaps be longest remembered as Speaker Blaine.

On March 4, 1869, Blaine was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. He had, after slight debate, been nominated by the Republican caucus, and was elected by one hundred and twenty-five votes against fifty-seven given for the Democratic candidate, Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, a man

of great force of character, unblemished integrity, and destined afterwards to be one of his successors.

His inaugural address was brief and to the point—the speech of a judge, not the harangue of an advocate.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: I thank you profoundly for the great honor which you have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured your confidence, your kindly regard and your generous support.

The Forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our Government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the Capitol appropriately symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future. A great chieftain, whose sword at the head of gallant and victorious armies saved the Republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism, and the personal worth of the nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity, and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me.



Engraving by E. J. P. P. P.

J. G. Elaine

HON. JAMES G. ELAINE

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
1869-75

The oath of office was then administered by Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, the senior member of the body.

In the Chair Mr. Blaine was always courteous, so impartial that not even his political opponents accused him of unfairness, decided in enforcing his rulings, and cool amidst all the tempest of debate. Mr. Banks had long been extolled as a model Speaker, and Clay's bearing in the Chair was still remembered, but neither Clay nor Banks has left such a reputation as Mr. Blaine. In this office again he had already had experience; he had, as we have related in a previous chapter, presided with distinguished success over the stormy democracy of Maine. He had then and there laid the foundation of his knowledge of parliamentary law, which his experience on the floor of the House had perfected. Beyond all dispute he was the best fitted man of his party to discharge the high and difficult duties he was called on to perform.

"His quickness," wrote a well-informed Washington correspondent, "his thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and of the rules, his firmness, clear voice, and impressive manner, his ready comprehension of subjects and situations, and his dash and brilliancy have been widely recognized, and really made him a great presiding officer." He was soon celebrated for his dispatch of business. He was described as adverse to red tape, and having an admirable faculty for cutting corners and knocking away obstructions so that the House could go by the most direct way to the end it was seeking. "No man since Clay," men said, "had presided with such an absolute knowledge of the rules of the House and with so great a mastery in the rapid, intelligent, and faithful discharge of business. His knowledge of parliamentary law was instinctive and complete, and his administration of it so fair that both sides of the House united at the close of each Congress in cordial thanks for his impartiality."

On the 3d of March, 1871, Blaine's first term as Speaker came to an end. Mr. S. S. Cox, of New York, his old opponent, then and now a consistent and courageous Democrat, moved a resolution of thanks to Mr. Blaine for his conduct in the Chair. It was in the following terms :

RESOLVED, In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified, and impartial discharge of those duties by Hon. J. G. Blaine during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be and they are hereby tendered to the Speaker thereof.

The resolution was agreed to unanimously, and the retiring Speaker, in adjourning the House at noon, pronounced the valedictory of the Forty-first Congress :

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES : Our labors are at an end ; but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct.

In a deliberative body of this character a presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that you give me the assurance that I have earned the respect and good-will of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions are most grateful to me, and are most gratefully acknowledged.

The Congress whose existence closes with this hour enjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which all the States have been represented on this floor since the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war. Ten years have passed since then—years of trial and of triumph ; years of wild destruction and years of careful rebuilding ; and after all, and as the result of all, the National Government is here to-day, united, strong, proud, defiant, and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States represented on the folds of its flag.

For these prosperous fruits of our great struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles and to the Prince of Peace.

And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligation I feel for the considerate kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office, in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day.

On the following day, the Forty-second Congress met, and there was no hesitation who was to be the Republican candidate. Geo. W. Morgan, of Ohio, was the nominee of the opposition, but the ballot showed votes for James G. Blaine, of Maine, 126 ; for Geo. W. Morgan, of Ohio, 92. Conducted with the usual formalities to the Chair, and before taking the usual oath, Speaker Blaine for the second time addressed the House on his election :

GENTLEMEN: The Speakership of the American House of Representatives has always been esteemed as an enviable honor. A re-election to the position carries with it peculiar gratification, in that it implies an approval of past official bearing. For this great mark of your confidence I can but return to you my sincerest thanks, with the assurance of my utmost devotion to the duties which you call upon me to discharge.

Chosen by the party representing the political majority in this House, the Speaker owes a faithful allegiance to the principles and the policy of that party. But he will fall far below the honorable requirements of his station if he fails to give to the minority their full rights under the rules which he is called upon to administer. The successful working of our grand system of government depends largely upon the vigilance of party organizations, and the most wholesome legislation which this House produces and perfects is that which results from opposing forces mutually eager and watchful and well-nigh balanced in numbers.

The Forty-second Congress assembles at a period of general content, happiness, and prosperity throughout the land. Under the wise administration of the National Government, peace reigns

in all our borders, and the only serious misunderstanding with any foreign power is, we may hope, at this moment in process of honorable, cordial, and lasting adjustment. We are fortunate in meeting at such a time, in representing such constituencies, in legislating for such a country.

Trusting, gentlemen, that our official intercourse may be free from all personal asperity, believing that all our labors will eventuate for the public good, and craving the blessing of Him without whose aid we labor in vain, I am now ready to proceed with the further organization of the House ; and, as the first step thereto, I will myself take the oath prescribed by the Constitution and laws.

Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, who had served the longest continuously in the House, then administered the oath.

Again, at the close of the second session of the Forty-second Congress, a vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Samuel J. Randall, of his native State of Pennsylvania, "for the able, prompt, and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office," during the second session, and on the final dissolution on the 3d of March, 1873, Mr. Dan. Voorhees, of Indiana, addressing the temporary chairman, Mr. W. A. Wheeler, of New York, said :

I rise to present a matter to the House in which I am sure every member will concur. In doing so I perform the most pleasant duty of my entire service on this floor. I offer the following resolution. It has the sincere sanction of my head and of my heart. I move its adoption.

Then, amid the silence of the crowded hall, the Clerk of the House read as follows :

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this House are due, and are hereby tendered, to Hon. James G. Blaine, for the distinguished ability and impartiality with which he has discharged the duty of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Forty-second Congress.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

On the same day, in adjourning the House *sine die*, Mr. Blaine spoke as follows :

GENTLEMEN: For the forty-second time since the Federal Government was organized, its great representative body stands on the eve of dissolution. The final word which separates us is suspended for a moment that I may return my sincere thanks for the kind expressions respecting my official conduct, which, without division of party, you have caused to be entered on your journal.

At the close of four years' service in this responsible and often trying position, it is a source of honorable pride that I have so administered my trust as to secure the confidence and approbation of both sides of the House. It would not be strange if, in the necessarily rapid discharge of the daily business, I should have erred in some of the decisions made on points, and often without precedent to guide me. It has been my good fortune, however, to be always sustained by the House, and in no single instance to have had a ruling reversed. I advert to this gratifying fact, to quote the language of the most eloquent of my predecessors, "in no vain spirit of exaltation, but as furnishing a powerful motive for undissembled gratitude."

And now, gentlemen, with a hearty God bless you all, I discharge my only remaining duty in declaring that the House of Representatives for the Forty-second Congress is adjourned without day.

For the third time, James G. Blaine, of Maine, was elected Speaker of the United States House of Representatives on December 2, 1873. He was conducted to the chair by Mr. Maynard, of Tennessee, and Mr. Wood, of New York, and spoke as follows :

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: The vote this moment announced by the Clerk is such an expression of your confidence as calls for my sincerest thanks. To be chosen Speaker of the American House of Representatives is

always an honorable distinction ; to be chosen a third time enhances the honor more than three-fold ; to be chosen by the largest body that ever assembled in the Capitol imposes a burden of responsibility which only your indulgent kindness could embolden me to assume.

The first occupant of this Chair presided over a House of sixty-five members, representing a population far below the present aggregate of the State of New York. At that time in the whole United States there were not fifty thousand civilized inhabitants to be found one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. To-day, gentlemen, a large body of you come from beyond that limit, and represent districts then peopled only by the Indian and adventurous frontiersman. The National Government is not yet as old as many of its citizens ; but in this brief span of time, less than one lengthened life, it has, under God's providence, extended its power until a continent is the field of its empire, and attests the majesty of its law.

With the growth of new States and the resultant changes in the centres of population, new interests are developed, rival to the old, but by no means hostile, diverse, but not antagonistic. Nay, rather are all these interests in harmony ; and the true science of just government is to give to each its full and fair play, oppressing none by undue exaction, favoring none by undue privilege. It is this great lesson which our daily experience is teaching us, binding us together more closely, making our mutual dependence more manifest, and causing us to feel, whether we live in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, that we have indeed but "one country, one Constitution, one destiny."

The Forty-third Congress expired on the 3d of March, 1875. After the customary vote of thanks, Mr. Blaine made his valedictory address. It was at once a farewell to the expiring Congress and to his own tenure of the office. These were the last words of Blaine, as Speaker of the House of Representatives—words dignified and solemn, as befitted the occasion and the audience :

GENTLEMEN : I close with this hour a six years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equaled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this Chair to shorter terms of office.

It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life, not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

To those from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions, and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event renders these words my farewell to the Chair.

The Speakership of the American House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous ; they are both onerous and delicate ; they are performed in the broad light of day, under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such instant and such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their very nature are peremptory ; almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity ; but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this Chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day.

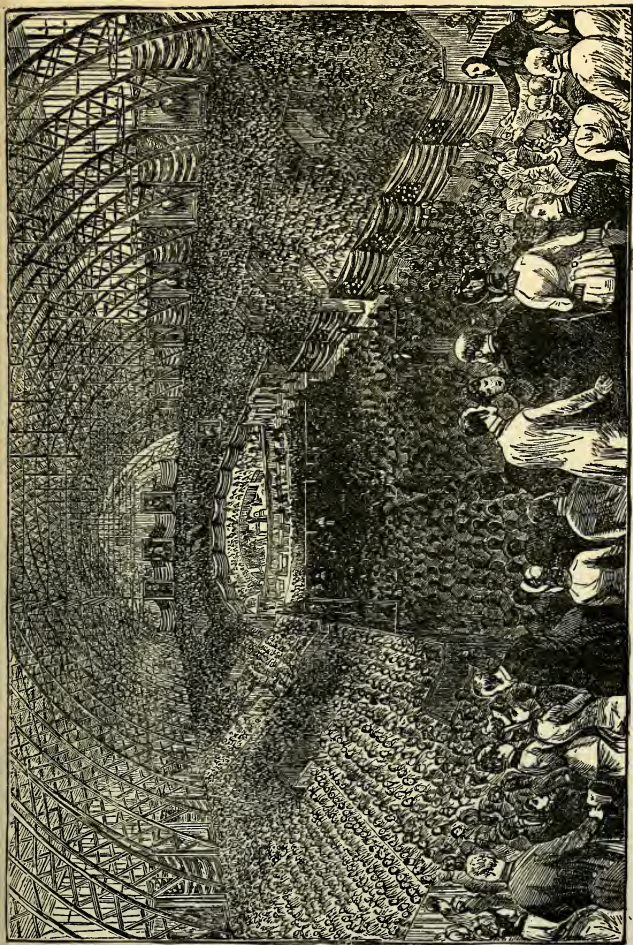
Great applause followed from all sides of the House as the Speaker stepped down from the seat he had filled for so many years with general approval. Hands were clapped and cheers arose from the upstanding members, which was joined in by the throng of spectators in the galleries and on the floor. "Never before," said an eye-witness, "was witnessed such a scene at the close of Congress." His years of office had been years of excitement, and scenes of an unwonted character had taken place. The integrity of the Speaker himself had been assailed, and he had to come down from his chair and once more defend himself on the floor of the House. The first occasion which provoked the Speaker to quit his high place and again join in the "rapture of the strife," arose on the 16th of March, 1871, when the House was considering a resolution providing for an investigation into alleged outrages perpetrated upon loyal citizens of the South. Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts, in unsparing terms censured the Speaker for being the author of the resolution, and for procuring its adoption by a caucus of Republican members. A colloquy of unusual acrimony ensued.

Mr. Blaine—I nominated Mr. Butler chairman of the committee, because I knew that if I omitted the appointment of the gentleman, it would be heralded throughout the length and breadth of the country, by the *clacqueurs* who have so industriously distributed this letter this morning, that the Speaker had packed the committee, as the gentleman said he would, with "weak-kneed Republicans," who would not go into an investigation vigorously, as he would. That was the reason. So that the Chair laid the responsibility upon the gentleman of declining the appointment.

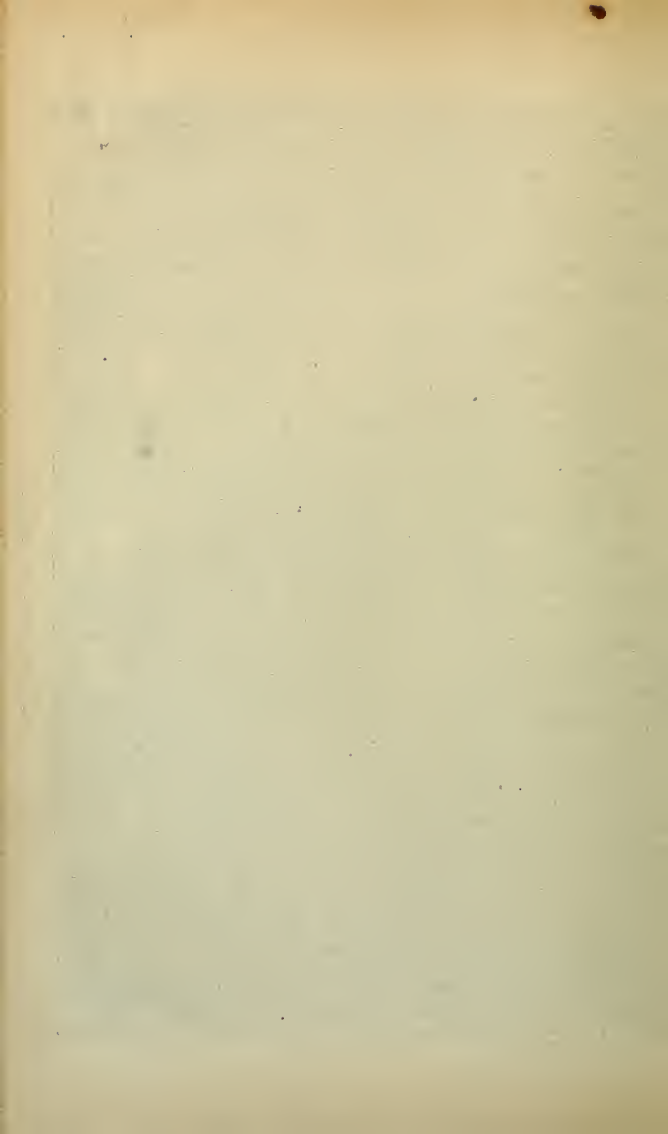
Mr. Butler—I knew that was the trick of the Chair.

Mr. Blaine—Ah, the "trick!" We now know what the gentleman meant by the word "trick." I am very glad to know that the "trick" was successful.

Mr. Butler—No doubt.



THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.



Mr. Blaine—It is this “trick” which places the gentleman from Massachusetts on his responsibility before the country.

Then he defied Mr. Butler to designate any members who had voted under coercion; and on his refusal to do so, on the plea of not wishing to violate private conversations, the Speaker exclaimed :

Oh, no ; but you will distribute throughout the entire country unfounded calumnies purporting to rest upon assertions made in private conversations, which, when called for, cannot be verified.

Mr. Butler—Pardon me, sir. I said there was a caucus——

Mr. Blaine—I hope God will pardon you ; but you ought not to ask me to do it !

Mr. Butler—I will ask God, and not you.

Mr. Blaine—I am glad the gentleman will.

Mr. Butler—I have no favors to ask of the devil.

When replying to Butler’s claim that whatever a caucus may determine upon must be supported by every member of the party, he got in some keen thrusts at the General’s changes of political faith, and at the intrigues he had set on foot to prevent Mr. Blaine’s nomination as Speaker in this session. At the same time he proudly claimed to be defending, in this defense of himself, the dignity of the chair.

Why, even in the worst days of the Democracy, when the gentleman himself was in the front rank of the worst wing of it, when was it ever attempted to say that a majority of a party caucus could bind men upon measures that involved questions of constitutional law, of personal honor, of religious scruple ? The gentleman asked what would have been done—he asked my colleague (Mr. Peters) what would have been done in case of members of a party voting against the caucus nominee for Speaker. I understand that was intended as a thrust at myself. Caucus nominations of officers have always been held as binding. But, just here, let me say, that if a minority did not vote against the decision of the caucus that nominated me for Speaker, in my

judgment, it was not the fault of the gentleman from Massachusetts. If the requisite number could have been found to have gone over to the despised Nazarenes on the opposite side, that gentleman would have led them as gallantly as he did the forces in the Charleston Convention.

Mr. Speaker, in old times it was the ordinary habit of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to take part in debate. The custom has fallen into disuse. For one, I am very glad that it has. For one, I approve of the conclusion that forbids it. The Speaker should, with consistent fidelity to his own party, be the impartial administrator of the rules of the House, and a constant participation in the discussions of members would take from him that appearance of impartiality which it is so important to maintain in the rulings of the Chair. But at the same time I despise and denounce the insolence of the gentleman from Massachusetts when he attempts to say that the Representative from the Third District of the State of Maine has no right to frame a resolution; has no right to seek that under the rules that resolutions shall be adopted; has no right to ask the judgment of the House upon that resolution. Why, even the insolence of the gentleman himself never reached that sublime height before.

Now, Mr. Speaker, nobody regrets more sincerely than I do any occurrence which calls me to take the floor. On questions of propriety, I appeal to members on both sides of the House, and they will bear me witness, that the circulation of this letter in the morning prints; its distribution throughout the land by telegraph; the laying it upon the desks of members, was intended to be by the gentleman from Massachusetts, not openly and boldly, but covertly—I will not use a stronger phrase—an insult to the Speaker of this House. As such I resent it. I denounce it in all its essential statements, and in all its misstatements, and in all its meaner inferences and meaner innuendoes. I denounce this letter as groundless without justification; and the gentleman himself, I trust, will live to see the day when he will be ashamed of having written it.

In 1872 the Credit Mobilier scandal came out. Charges of

bribery were preferred against a number of men who had hitherto held high and honored positions ; the charges struck in high places. It included the Vice-President of the United States, the Vice-President-elect, three Senators, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Garfield, Mr. Kelley, and others. All these were accused of receiving bribes from the hands of Mr. Oakes Ames, a Representative from Massachusetts. Mr. Blaine took the floor, and in moving a resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate the charge (Mr. Cox, of New York, in the chair), he said :

A charge of bribery of members is the gravest that can be made in a legislative body. It seems to me, sir, that this charge demands prompt, thorough, and impartial investigation, and I have taken the floor for the purpose of moving that investigation. Unwilling, of course, to appoint any committee of investigation to examine into a charge in which I was myself included, I have called you, sir, to the Chair, an honored member of the House, honored here and honored in the country ; and when on Saturday last I called upon you and advised you of this service, I placed upon you no other restriction in the appointment of a committee than that it should not contain a majority of my political friends.

Mr. Blaine's participation in active debate is doubtless a practice more honored in the breach than in the observance, and all impartial observers must agree with his opinion that it is a habit justly fallen into desuetude, as likely to impair that appearance of perfect impartiality which is absolutely necessary for a presiding officer who hopes to maintain his authority. In the two cases mentioned, it seems to have been the best, the necessary course. In the strict discharge of his functions he had been in favor of economy, and refused to accept the increased salary assigned to the Speaker by the notorious Salary Bill. During the consideration of the bill,

on the last day of January, 1873, he addressed the House as Speaker, and made the following remarks :

The Chair now desires to make a statement personal to himself. In reading the bill the Chair presumes the language of this amendment would make the Speaker's salary \$10,000 for this Congress. The salary of the Speaker, the last time the question of pay was under consideration, was adjusted to that of the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet. The Chair thinks that adjustment should not be disturbed, and the question which he now raises does not affect the pay of other members of the House. He asks unanimous consent to put in the word "hereafter," to follow the words "shall receive." This will affect whoever shall be Speaker of the House of Representatives hereafter, and does not affect the Speaker of this House, but leaves him upon the same plane with the Vice-President and Cabinet officers, upon the salary as before adjusted.

Nor in the subsequent proceedings did he falter in his resolution. In the ensuing session, when the repeal of the bill, in obedience to popular indignation, was under discussion, a motion to adjourn was made, with the intention of defeating the repeal. The casting vote of the Speaker was given to negative the motion.

CHAPTER IX.

BLAINE AS LEADER OF THE PARTY.

The Democratic tidal wave.—His courage and skill.—Demands for Blaine as President.—The Currency Question.—Blaine's views on Finance.—The Amnesty Bill.—Republican clemency.—Case of Jefferson Davis.—Andersonville.—Rejection of the bill.—Irredeemable currency.—Evils of the system.—Greenbackers.—Attacks on Blaine's integrity.—Union Pacific Railroad Company.—The Investigating Committee.—The Mulligan Letters.—Blaine sunstruck.—Popular sympathy.

IN 1874 the Democratic tidal wave had swept over the country and placed a majority of Democrats in the House of Representatives. Blaine again came to the floor of the House, and in the face of the united and determined opposition, his unwearied activity and skillful leadership were the salvation of his party. Without his courage and fertility of resources the old Republican party would have been doomed to a long eclipse. His labor during the session was unending ; work in the House, consultations with his followers, correspondence with supporters in the country occupied every waking hour ; every word he uttered, every line he penned, every motion he made was eagerly commented upon in scores of journals, and thousands of homes by millions of citizens. From all sections of the land came loud and repeated demands that he should be the nominee of the party for the Presidency in the forthcoming campaign.

The currency question still occupied attention ; the agitation on the subject was serious and alarming, the Legislature was regarded widely as the source of the distress under which

every interest was suffering, wild schemes of finance were eagerly propounded, and eagerly listened to ; even members of Congress advised the Nation to sell its gold and issue paper "promises never to pay," receivable by law for labor and merchandise. Against all these dangerous projects of unsound financiers Blaine set his face, and in public and private argued for sound money and the honest dollar, as he had in previous sessions.

The first great debate, however, in which Blaine was the champion of the Republican party, was on a question that excited every loyal heart more deeply than any dry question of finance. It was that of a general amnesty to all the rebels who had taken part in the war, including even Jefferson Davis. The discussion continued through several sittings of the House, Mr. Hill, of Georgia, advocating the measure, and Mr. Blaine, one of the foremost originators and supporters of the Fourteenth Amendment, urging its rejection. He denied that the Republican party had been bigoted, narrow, or tyrannical ; it had an imperishable record of liberality, magnanimity, and mercy, far beyond any that has ever been shown before in the world's history by the conqueror to the conquered. Instead of any sweeping condemnation when the war ended, the Republican party placed in the Fourteenth Amendment only one exclusion, that of those who, in addition to revolting, had violated a personal oath of allegiance to the Constitution. This disability, he showed, had been removed by wholesale, till at the time of his speaking only seven hundred and fifty persons were under disabilities.

In this list I see no gentlemen to whom I think there would be any objection, and I am in favor of granting it to them on the simple condition that they go before a United States court and swear that they mean to conduct themselves as good citizens. That is all.

In my amendment, Mr. Speaker, I have excepted Jefferson Davis from its operation. Now I do not place it on the ground that Mr. Davis was, as he has been commonly called, the head and front of the rebellion, because on that ground I do not think the exception would be tenable. Mr. Davis was just as guilty, no more so, no less so, than thousands of others, who have already received the benefit and grace of amnesty. Probably he was far less efficient as an enemy of the United States; probably he was far more useful as a disturber of the Councils of the Confederacy than many who have already received amnesty. It is not because of any particular and special damage that he above others did to the Union, or because he was personally or especially of consequence that I except him. But I except him on this ground: that he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville.

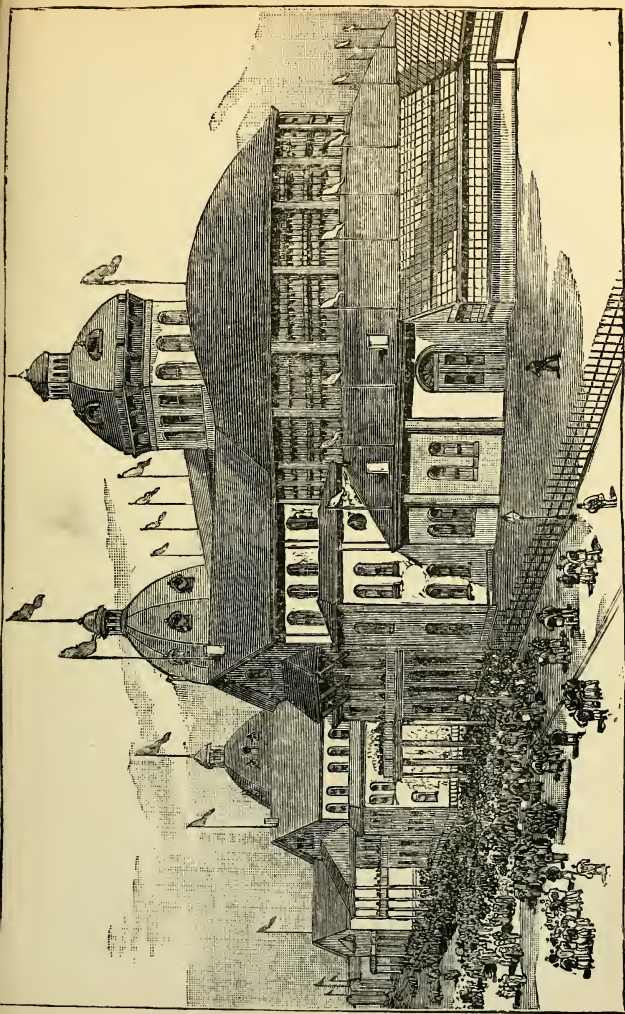
And three days after, when the discussion had been renewed, he said: "God forbid that I should lay at the door of the Southern people these atrocities. I repeat it. I lay no such charge at their door. There were deep movements among the Southern people about these atrocities; there was a profound sensibility. I know that the leading officers of the Confederacy protested against them, and also many subordinate officers, but," turning to Mr. Hill, of Georgia, "I have searched the records in vain to find that the gentleman from Georgia protested against them. No man on this side has ever intimated that Jefferson Davis should be refused pardon on account of political crimes; it is too late for that; it is because of a personal crime."

Mr. Speaker, in view of all these facts, I have only to say that if the American Congress, by a two-thirds vote, shall pronounce Jefferson Davis worthy to be restored to the full rights of American citizenship, I can only vote against it and hang my head in silence and regret it.

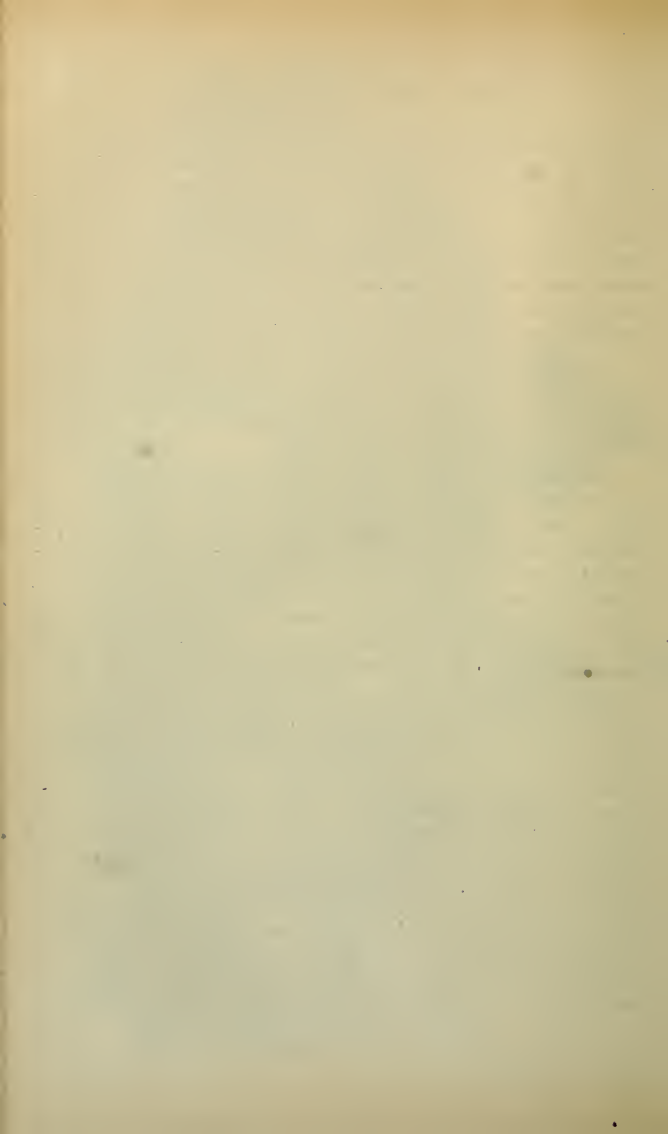
The amnesty was not granted, but his opponents in debate remained more embittered than ever, and their enmity became more pronounced as his prospects of nomination for the Presidency grew brighter. He was not, and is not, a man to trim his sails to catch every breeze ; he never condescended to compromise for his own personal gain or advantage. Although he knew his views on the currency antagonized a powerful section of his own party, he never hesitated in his course. In the month following the heated debate on the Amnesty Bill, he delivered another of his great speeches against the proposed perpetuation of an irredeemable currency, on the 10th of February.

A SOUND CURRENCY.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The honor of the National Government and the prosperity of the American people are alike menaced by those who demand the perpetuation of an irredeemable paper currency. For more than two years the country has been suffering from prostration in business ; confidence returns but slowly ; trade revives only partially ; and to-day, with capital unproductive and labor unemployed, we find ourselves in the midst of an agitation respecting the medium with which business transactions shall be carried on. Until this question is definitely adjusted it is idle to expect that full measure of prosperity to which the energies of our people and the resources of the land entitle us. In the way of that adjustment one great section of the Democratic party—possibly its controlling power—stubbornly stands to-day. The Republicans, always true to the primal duty of supporting the nation's credit, have now cast behind them all minor differences and dissensions on the financial question, and have gradually consolidated their strength against inflation. The currency, therefore, becomes of necessity a prominent political issue, and those Democrats who are in favor of honest dealing by the Government and honest money for the people may be compelled to act as they did in that still graver exigency when the existence of the Government itself was at stake.



EXPOSITION BUILDING AT CHICAGO, WHERE THE CONVENTION WAS HELD.



While this question should be approached in no spirit of partisan bitterness, it has yet become so entangled with party relations that no intelligent discussion of it can be had without giving its political history, and if that history bears severely on the Democratic party, its defenders must answer the facts, and not quarrel with their presentation. Firmly attached to one political party myself, firmly believing that parties in a free government are as healthful as they are inevitable, I still think there are questions about which parties should agree never to disagree ; and of these is the essential nature and value of the circulating medium. And it is a fact of especial weight and significance that up to the paper-money era, which was precipitated upon us during the rebellion as one of war's inexorable necessities, there never was a political party in this country that believed in any other than the specie standard for our currency. If there was any one principle that was rooted and grounded in the minds of our earliest statesmen, it was the evil of paper money ; and no candid man of any party can read the Constitution of the United States and not be convinced that its framers intended to protect and defend our people from the manifold perils of an irredeemable currency. Nathaniel Macon, one of the purest and best of American statesmen, himself a soldier of the Revolution and a member of Congress continuously during the administration of our first six Presidents, embracing in all a period of nearly forty years, expressed the whole truth when he declared in the Senate that "this was a hard-money Government, founded by hard-money men, who had themselves seen and felt the evil of paper money and meant to save their posterity from it."

To this uniform adherence to the specie standard the crisis of the rebellion forced an exception. In January, 1862, with more than a half-million of men in arms, with a daily expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars, the Government suddenly found itself without money. Customs yielded but little, internal taxes had not yet been levied, public credit was feeble, if not paralyzed, our armies had met with one signal reverse and nowhere with marked success, and men's minds were filled with gloom and apprehension. The one supreme need of the hour was money, and

money the Government did not have. What, then, should be done, or, rather, what could be done? The ordinary treasury note had been tried and failed, and those already issued were discredited and below the value of the bills of country banks. The Government in this great and perilous need promptly called to its aid a power never before exercised. It authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty millions of notes, and declared them to be a legal tender for all debts, public or private, with two exceptions.

The ablest lawyers who sustained this measure did not find warrant for it in the text of the Constitution, but like the late Senator Fessenden, of my own State, placed it on the ground of "absolute, overwhelming necessity"; and that illustrious Senator declared that "the necessity existing, he had no hesitation." Indeed, sir, to hesitate was to be lost, for the danger was that, if Congress prolonged the debate on points of constitutional construction, its deliberations might be interrupted by the sound of rebel artillery on the opposite shore of the Potomac. The Republican Senators and Representatives, therefore, dismissing all doubts and casuistry, stood together for the country, and if taunted, as they were, by the Democracy and disloyalty of that day, with violating the Constitution, they pointed to that law which is older than constitutions. Adopting the sentiment, as they might have quoted the imputed language, of John Milton, they believed that "there is the law of self-preservation, written by God himself on our hearts; there is the primal compact and bond of society, not graven on stone, nor sealed with wax, nor put down on parchment, nor set forth in any express form of word by men when of old they came together, but implied in the very act that they so came together, pre-supposed in all subsequent law, not to be repealed by any authority, not invalidated by being omitted in any code, inasmuch as from thence are all codes and all authority."

But the promptings of patriotism, the pressure of necessity, the "despotism of duty," which thus decided the course of the Republicans failed to influence the Democrats in Congress. Marshaled and led by Mr. Pendleton, since become the great advocate

of inflation, the Democratic Representatives voted in well-nigh solid column against the legal-tender bill. Bankruptcy in the treasury was impending; eighty millions of unpaid requisitions lay on the secretary's desk; a large part of the army had not received a dollar for six months; supplies were failing; recruiting halted; the spirits of the people drooped; while the executive department, charged with the conduct of the war, urged that critical campaigns, then in progress, would necessarily end in disaster unless relief could be afforded in this way. But Democratic consciences were too tender, and Democratic scruples too intense, at that time to permit such a fearful infraction of the Constitution as the passage of a legal-tender bill, even to save the Union of our fathers and thus preserve the Constitution itself.

The necessities of the Government were so great and expenditures so enormous, that another hundred and fifty millions of legal-tender notes were speedily called for and granted by Congress, the Democrats again voting, under Mr. Pendleton's lead, against the measure. With varying fortunes, the last year of the war was reached, with three hundred millions of legal-tender in circulation. With the strain of our public credit and the doubts and vicissitudes of the struggle these notes had fallen far below par in gold, and it became apparent to every clear-headed observer that the continued issue of legal tenders, with no provision for their redemption and no limit to their amount, would utterly destroy the credit of the Government and involve the Union cause in irretrievable disaster. But, at that moment, the military situation, with its perils and its prospects, was such that the Government must have money more rapidly than the sale of bonds could furnish it, and the danger was that the sale of bonds would be stopped altogether, unless some definite limit could be assigned to the issue of legal-tender notes. Accordingly, Congress sought, and successfully sought, to accomplish both ends at the same time, and they passed a bill granting one hundred millions additional legal-tender circulation—making four hundred millions in all—and then incorporated in the same law the solemn assurance and pledge that “the total amount of United States notes, issued and to be issued, shall never exceed four hundred

millions of dollars." And to this pledge every Democratic Senator and Representative assented, either actively or silently, as the Journals of both Houses will show. The subsequent readiness of many of those gentlemen to trample on it must be upon the broad principle of ethics that the Government should keep those pledges which are profitable, and disregard those which it will pay to violate.

When the war was over and the Union saved, one of the first duties of the Government was to improve its credit and restore a sound currency to the people; and here we might have reasonably expected the aid of the Democratic party. But we did not receive it. Irreconcilably hostile to the issue of legal-tenders when that form of credit was needed for the salvation of the country, the Democracy, as soon as the country was saved, conceived a violent love for these notes, and demanded an almost illimitable issue of them.

Mr. Seymour, as the Democratic candidate for President in 1868, scouting the four hundred million pledge, stood on a platform demanding that sixteen hundred millions of five-twenties be paid off in legal tenders; and he so heartily approved this policy, that in his letter of acceptance he declared that "he should strive to carry it out in the future, wherever he might be placed in political or private life." His position at that time was approved by every Democrat of high or low degree in New York, was unanimously reaffirmed in their State Convention, was sustained by all their newspaper organs, and was the recognized creed of the party, East as well as West. Mr. Seymour and his political associates in New York have changed their ground and now proclaim an honest financial creed; and after the manner of the Pharisee, they broaden their phylacteries, make loud professions of superior zeal, and thank God reverently that they are not as their sinful brethren of the Ohio Democracy—those financial Sadducees, who continue to reject all idea of resurrection or redemption for the legal tender.

I have thus briefly referred to the past, Mr. Chairman, only because I think it has an important bearing on the present and the future. I do not assume that the Republican party can

possibly discharge its pending responsibilities by merely pointing to its former grand achievements. "Let not virtue seek remuneration for the thing it was." But I do claim that on this financial question the course of the Republican party in the past is a guaranty for the future, and that equally the course of the Democratic party, of both wings and of all shades, is a menace and a warning to the people.

If, however, the New York school of Democrats, repenting of their former course and seeking better ways for the future, are ready to give honest help in the restoration of a sound currency, they will be gladly welcomed and their faith will be tested by works before this session of Congress closes. They will not, however, deem it strange or harsh if, remembering their past record, we feel an uncomfortable sense of distrust as to their entire sincerity in the future. This distrust is increased when we witness the brazen boldness with which, in full view of their repudiation record of but yesterday, they assume a stilted tone of superior honesty on the financial question, and affect patronizing language toward the Republicans who saved the nation from the lasting blight of Mr. Seymour's triumph in 1868. Still further deepened and strengthened is the distrust when we remember the formal alliance which the New York Democrats have renewed with the Democrats of the South, to whom our whole financial system is but a reminder of what they themselves term their subjugation, and who from past action and present tendency are unfitted to be the safe repository of the nation's pledges for the payment of its war debt. We have passed into a new era, and to recall the Southern Democracy, with their appalling record, to their ancient control in this country would be as decisive a step backward and nightward as it would have been for the English people to surround William of Orange with a Parliament made up of adherents to the lost house of Stuart, or as it would be to-day for the French Assembly to thrust on McMahon a cabinet devoted to the fortunes of Henry the Fifth.

As I said at the outset of my remarks, Mr. Chairman, the country is suffering under one of those periodical revulsions in trade common to all commercial nations, and which thus far no

wisdom of legislation has been able to avert. The natural restlessness of a people so alive and alert as ours looks for an instant remedy, and the danger in such a condition of the public mind is that something may be adopted that will ultimately deepen the disease rather than lay the groundwork for an effectual cure. Naturally enough in such a time the theories for relief are numerous, and we have marvelous receipts offered whereby the people shall be enabled to pay the dollar they owe with less than a hundred cents: while those who are caught with such a delusion seemingly forget that, even if this be so, they must likewise receive less than a hundred cents for the dollar that is due them. Whether the dollar that they owe to-day or the dollar that is due them to-morrow will have the greater or less number of cents depends on the shifting of causes which they can neither control nor foresee; and therefore all certain calculation in trade is set at defiance, and those branches of business which take on the form of gambling are by a financial paradox the most secure and most promising.

Uncertainty as to the value of the currency from day to day is injurious to all honest industry.

And while that which is known as the debtor interest should be fairly and generously considered in the shaping of measures for specie resumption, there is no justice in asking for inflation on its behalf. Rather there is the gravest injustice; for you must remember that there is a large class of most deserving persons who would be continually and remorselessly robbed by such a policy. I mean the *Labor* of the country, that is compelled to live from and by its daily earnings. The savings-banks which represent the surplus owned by the laborers of the nation, have deposits to-day exceeding eleven hundred millions of dollars—more than the entire capital stock and deposits of the national banks. The pensioners, who represent the patriotic suffering of the country, have a capitalized investment of six hundred millions of dollars. Here are seventeen hundred millions of money incapable of receiving anything but instant and lasting injury from inflation. Whatever impairs the purchasing power of the dollar correspondingly decreases the resources of the saving-bank depos-

itor and pensioner. The pensioner's loss would be absolute, but it would probably be argued that the laborer would receive compensation by his nominally larger earnings. But this would prove totally delusive, for no possible augmentation of wages in a time of inflation will ever keep pace with the still greater increase of price in the commodities necessary to sustain life, except—and mark the exception—under the condition witnessed during the war, when the number of laborers was continually reduced by the demand of men to serve in the army and navy. And those honest-minded people who recall the startling activity of trade and the large profits during the war, and attribute both to an inflated currency, commit the error of leaving out the most important element of the calculation. They forget that the Government was a customer for nearly four years at the rate of two or three millions of dollars per day—buying countless quantities of all staple articles; they forget that the number of consumers was continually enlarging as our armed force grew to its gigantic proportions, and that the number of producers was by the same cause continually growing less, and that thus was presented, on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, that simple problem, familiar alike to the political economist and the village trader, of the demand being greater than the supply, and a consequent rise in the price. Had the Government been able to conduct the war on a gold basis and provided the coin for its necessarily large and lavish expenditure, a rise in the price of labor and a rise in the value of commodities would have been inevitable. And the rise of both labor and commodities in gold would have been for the time as marked as in paper, adding, of course, the depreciation of the latter to its scale of prices.

While the delusion of creating wealth by the issue of irredeemable paper currency may lead to any number of absurd propositions, the advocates of the heresy seem to have settled down on two measures—or, rather, one measure composed of two parts, namely: To abolish the national banks, and then have the Government issue legal tenders at once to the amount of the bank circulation, and add to the volume from time to time thereafter, “according to the wants of trade.” The two propositions are so

inseparably connected that I shall discuss them together. The National Bank system, Mr. Chairman, was one of the results of the war, and the credit of its origin belongs to the late Salmon P. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury. And it may not be unprofitable just here to recall to the House the circumstances which at the time made the national banks a necessity to the Government. At the outbreak of the war there were considerably over a thousand State banks, of various degrees of responsibility, or irresponsibility, scattered throughout the country. Their charters demanded the redemption of their bills in specie, and under the pressure of this requirement their aggregate circulation was kept within decent limits, but the amount of it was in most instances left to the discretion of the directors, and not a few of these banks issued ten dollars of bills for one of specie in their vaults. With the passage of the legal tender act, however, followed by an enormous issue of Government notes, the State banks would no longer be required to redeem in specie, and would, therefore, at once flood the country with their own bills, and take from the Government its resource in that direction. To restrict and limit their circulation, and to make the banks as helpful as possible in the great work of sustaining the Government finances, the national-bank act was passed.

This act required, in effect, that every bank should loan its entire stock to the Government; or, in other words, to invest it in Government bonds; and then, on depositing these bonds with the Treasurer of the United States, the bank might receive not exceeding ninety per cent. of their amount in circulating-notes, the Government holding the bonds for the protection of the billholder in case the bank should fail. And that, in brief, is precisely what a national bank is to-day. I do not say the system is perfect. I do not feel called upon to rush to its advocacy or its defense. I do not doubt that as we go forward we may find many points in which the system can be improved. But this I am bold to maintain, that, contrasted with any other system of banking this country has ever had, it is immeasurably superior; and whoever asks, as some Democrats now do, for its abolition, with a view of getting back any system of State banks, is a blind leader; and a



MAGGIE BLAINE AT THE TELEPHONE, RECEIVING THE NEWS OF
HER FATHER'S NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT.

very deep ditch of disorder and disaster awaits the followers, if the people should ever be so blinded as to take that fatal step.

It is greatly to be deplored, Mr. Chairman, that many candid men have conceived the notion that it would be a saving to the people if all banks could be dispensed with and a circulating medium be furnished by the Government issuing legal tenders. I do not stop here to argue that this would be in violation of the Government's pledge not to issue more than four hundred millions of its own notes. I merely remark that that pledge is binding in honor until legal tenders are redeemable in coin on presentation, and when that point is reached there will be no desire, as there will certainly be no necessity, for the Government issuing additional notes.

The great and, to my mind, unanswerable objection to this scheme is that it places the currency wholly in the power and under the direction of Congress. Now, Congress always has been and always will be governed by the partisan majority, representing one of the political parties of the country; and the proposition, therefore, reduces itself to this—that the circulating medium, instead of having a fixed, determinate character, shall be shifted and changed, and manipulated, according to the supposed needs of "the party." I profess, Mr. Chairman, to have some knowledge of the American Congress; its general character, its *personnel*, its scope, its limit, its power. I think, on the whole, that it is a far more patriotic, intelligent, and upright body of men than it generally gets credit for in the country; but, at the same time, I can possibly conceive of no assemblage of respectable gentlemen in the United States more utterly unfitted to determine from time to time the amount of circulation required by "the wants of trade." But, indeed, no body of men could be intrusted with that power. Even if it were possible to trust their discretion, their integrity would be constantly under suspicion. If they performed their duties with the purity of an angel of light, they could not successfully repel those charges which always follow where the temptation to do wrong is powerful and the way easy. Experience would very soon demonstrate that no more corrupt or corrupting device, no wilder or more

visionary project, ever entered the brain of the schemer or the empiric.

If the people of the United States were fully awake and aroused to their interests, and could see things as they are, instead of increasing the power of Congress over the currency, they would by the shortest practicable process divorce the two, completely and forever. And this can only be done finally, effectually, irreversibly, by the resumption of specie payment. Why, Mr. Chairman, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, ever since the Government was compelled to resort to irredeemable currency during the war, the assembling of Congress and its continuance in session have been the most disturbing elements in the business of the country. It is literally true that no man can tell what a day may bring forth. One large interest looks hopefully to contraction and the lowering of the gold premium; another is ruined unless there is such a movement toward expansion as will send gold up. Each side, of course, endeavors to influence and convince Congress. Both sides naturally have their sympathizing advocates on this floor, and hence the substantial business interests of the country are kept in a feverish, doubtful, speculative state. Men's minds are turned from honest industry to schemes of financial gambling, the public morals suffer, old-fashioned integrity is forgotten, and solid, enduring prosperity, with honest gains and quiet contentment, is rendered impossible. We have suffered thus far in perhaps as light a degree as could be expected under the circumstances; but once adopt the insane idea that all currency shall be issued directly by the Government, and that Congress shall be the judge of the amount demanded by the "wants of trade," and you have this country adrift, rudderless, on a sea of troubles, shoreless and soundless.

It is a singular coincidence, Mr. Chairman—one of those odd happenings sometimes brought about by political mutations—that those who urge this scheme upon the Government are Democrats, every one of whom would doubtless claim to be a true disciple of Andrew Jackson. And yet all the evils of which Jackson warned the country in his famous controversy with the

United States Bank are a thousand-fold magnified and a thousand-fold aggravated in this plan of making the Treasury Department itself the bank, with Congress for the governing board of directors. I commend to the gentlemen of Democratic antecedents a careful perusal of Jackson's great message of July 10, 1832, and I wish them to frankly tell this House how they think Jackson would have regarded the establishment of a great national paper-money machine, to be located for all time in the Treasury Department, the bills of which shall have no provision for their redemption, and the amount of those bills to be determined by a majority vote in a party caucus.

And then, after Jackson's veto message shall have been diligently perused and inwardly digested by the Democratic advocates of irredeemable paper money, I will ask them if the present national-bank system does not fully meet all of Jackson's objections, and if it is not, indeed, as nearly as the difference of time and circumstances will permit, such a system of banking as Jackson indirectly commended, and as he professed himself ready to submit a plan for if Congress should desire it? Disclaiming, as I have done, any special championship of the national banks, but merely referring to the facts of record, I would be glad further to ask if the present system, in its entire freedom from monopoly, being equally open to all; if in the absolute protection it affords to that innocent third party, the billholder (no man ever having lost a dollar by the bills of national banks during the thirteen years the system has been in operation, whereas in the preceding thirteen years the losses to the people by bills of State banks exceeded fifty millions of dollars); if in that universal credit attached to its bills, saving the people all losses from exchange or discount wherever payment is to be made within the United States; if in its protection of the rights of depositors; if in its strength and solvency in time of financial disaster; if in its subjection to taxation, both by the general and State governments, until it confessedly pays a heavier tax than any other species of property; if in its capacity to measure, by the unvarying law of supply and demand, the precise amount of circulation required by the "wants of trade,"—I would be glad, I repeat, to ask any

Democratic opponent of the system if it does not in each and all of these features fill the ideal requirements of a bank as foreshadowed by Jackson, and if it does not indeed far transcend any ideal Jackson had, in its freedom for all to engage in it, in its absolute security to the public, and in its singular adaptation to act as a regulator of the currency, preventing undue expansion and undue contraction with equal and unfailing certainty, and adjusting itself at once to the specie standard whenever the Government shall place its own notes at par with coin?

It is urged by the opponents of the banking system that the three hundred and twenty millions of bank circulation can be supplied by the legal tenders and the interest on that amount of bonds stopped! How? Does any gentleman suppose that the bonds owned by the banks, and on deposit in the treasury, will be exchanged for legal tenders of a new and inflated issue? Those bonds are payable, principal and interest, in gold; and, with the present amount of legal-tender notes, they are worth in the market from \$1.16 to \$1.25. What will they be worth in paper money when you double the amount of legal tenders and postpone the day of specie resumption far beyond the vision of prophet or seer? And this enormous issue of legal tenders to take the place of bank-notes is only the beginning of the policy to be inaugurated. The "wants of trade" would speedily demand another issue, for the essential nature of an irredeemable currency is that it has no limit till a reaction is born of crushing disaster. A lesson might be learned (by those willing to be taught by fact and experience) from the course of events during the war. When we had one hundred and fifty millions of legal tender in circulation, it stood for a long time nearly at par with gold. As the issue increased in amount the depreciation was very rapid, and at the time we fixed the four hundred million limit, that whole vast sum had less purchasing power in exchange for lands, or houses, or merchandise than the hundred and fifty millions had two years before. In the spring of 1862, \$150,000,000 of legal tender would buy in the market \$147,000,000 in gold coin. In June, 1864, \$400,000,000 of legal tender would buy only \$140,000,000 in gold coin.

And if we had not fixed the four hundred million limit, but had gone on issuing additional amounts according to the "wants of trade," as now argued and urged by the modern Democratic financiers, the result would have been that at each successive inflation the purchasing power of the aggregate mass would have been made less, and the value of the whole would have gone down, down, till it reached that point of utter worthlessness which so many like experiments have reached before ; and the legal tender, with all its vast capacity for good in a great national crisis, would have taken its place in history alongside of the French assignat and the continental currency. The four hundred million limit happily saved us that direful experience, and at once caused the legal tender to appreciate ; but, unwilling to learn by this striking fact, the inflationists insist upon a scheme of expansion which would speedily raise the price of bonds to unprecedented figures, and by the time they should succeed in purchasing those that now stand as security for national bank circulation they would have increased the national debt by countless millions, and instead of making a saving for the treasury they would end by depriving it of the eight millions of tax annually paid by the banks, and the people would have lost the additional eight millions of local tax derived from the same source.

I have not spoken of the confusion, the distress, the ruin, that would result from forcing twenty-one hundred banks suddenly to wind up their affairs with nearly a thousand millions of dollars due them, which in some form must needs be liquidated and paid. The commercial fabric of the country rests upon the bank credits, and nothing short of financial lunacy should demand their rude disturbance. Whoever would strike down the banks under the delusion that they can be driven to surrender their bonds for inflated legal tenders, knows little of the laws of finance and still less of the laws of human action.

When the National Government was organized in 1789 the most liberal estimate of the property of the entire thirteen States placed it at six hundred millions of dollars—less than the wealth of Boston or of Chicago to-day. The population was four mill-

ions, showing a property of one hundred and fifty dollars to each inhabitant. By the census of 1870 our population had increased to thirty-eight millions and our wealth to thirty thousand millions, showing eight hundred dollars *per capita* for the whole people. Our population had increased in the eighty intervening years not quite tenfold, but our wealth had increased fiftyfold.

The patriots of 1790, with their slender resources, did not hesitate to assume a national debt of ninety millions of dollars, being more than one-seventh of their entire possessions; and it never occurred to them that an abandonment of the specie basis would make their burden lighter. They knew from their terrible experience with continental currency that all their evils would be painfully increased by a resort to paper money. And in their poverty, with no accumulated capital, with manufactures in feeblest infancy, with commerce undeveloped, with low prices for their agricultural products, they maintained the gold and silver standard, they paid their great debt, they grew rich in the property which we inherited, but far richer in that bright, unsullied honor which they bequeathed to us.

To-day, the total debts of the American people, national, State, and municipal, are not so large in proportion to already acquired property as was the national debt alone in 1790. And when we take into the account the relative productive power of the two periods, our present burdens are absolutely inconsiderable. When we reflect what the railway, the telegraph, the cotton-gin, and our endless mechanical inventions and agencies have done for us in the way of increasing our capacity for producing wealth, we should be ashamed to pretend that we cannot bear larger burdens than our ancestors. And remember, Mr. Chairman, that our wealth from 1790 to 1870 increased more than five times as rapidly as our population, and that the same development is even now progressing with a continually accelerating ratio. Remember, also, that the annual income and earnings of our people are larger than those of any European country, larger than those of England, or France, or Russia, or the German empire. The English people stand next to us, but we

are largely in advance of them. The annual income of our entire people exceeds six thousand millions in gold, and despite financial reverses and revulsions is steadily increasing.

In view of these facts it would be an unpardonable moral weakness in our people—always heroic when heroism is demanded—to doubt their own capacity to maintain specie payment. I am not willing, myself, to acknowledge that as a people we are less honorable, less courageous, or less competent than were our ancestors in 1790 ; still less am I ready to own that the people of the entire Union have not the pluck and the capacity of our friends and kinsmen in California; and last of all would I confess that the United States of America, with forty-four millions of inhabitants, with a territory surpassing all Europe in area, and I might almost say all the world in fertility of resources, are not able to do what a handful of British subjects, scattered from Cape Race to Vancouver's Island, can do so easily, steadily, and successfully.

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The responsibility of re-establishing silver in its ancient and honorable place as money in Europe and America devolves really on the Congress of the United States. If we act here with prudence, wisdom, and firmness, we shall not only successfully remonetize silver and bring it into general use as money in our own country, but the influence of our example will be potential among all European nations, with the possible exception of England. Indeed, our annual indebtedment to Europe is so great, that if we have the right to pay it in silver, we necessarily coerce those nations, by the strongest of all forces, self-interest, to aid us in upholding the value of silver as money. But if we attempt the remonetization on a basis which is obviously and notoriously below the fair standard of value as it now exists, we incur all the evil consequences of failure at home and the positive certainty of successful opposition abroad. We are and shall be the greatest producers of silver in the world, and we have a larger stake in its complete monetization than any other country. The difference to the United States between the general acceptance of silver as money in the commercial world and its destruction as money, will possibly equal within the next half-century the entire bonded debt

of the nation. But to gain this advantage, we must make it actual money—the accepted equal of gold in the markets of the world. Remonetization here, followed by general remonetization in Europe, will secure to the United States the most stable basis for its currency that we have ever enjoyed, and will effectually aid in solving all the problems by which our financial situation is surrounded.

On the much-vexed and long-mooted question of a bi-metallic or mono-metallic standard, my own views are sufficiently indicated in the remarks I have made. I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce wide-spread disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money, and establishing gold as the sole unit of value, must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property, except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. If, as the most reliable statistics affirm, there are nearly seven thousand millions of coin or bullion in the world, not very unequally divided between gold and silver, it is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which will prove distressing to millions and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands. Alexander Hamilton, in his able and invaluable report in 1791 on the establishment of a mint, declared that “to annul the use of either gold or silver as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full circulation with the evils of a scanty circulation.” I take no risk in saying that the benefits of a full circulation and the evils of a scanty circulation are both immeasurably greater to-day than they were when Mr. Hamilton uttered these weighty words, always provided that the circulation is one of actual money, and not of depreciated promises to pay.

The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with irredeemable paper—or as compared, even, with silver of inferior value—will make itself felt in a sin-

gle generation to the extent of tens of millions—perhaps hundreds of millions—in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man, from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all tongues are called precious. Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, and to want, as we plainly witness on all sides to-day. And in the midst of the proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the halls of Congress, that “the people demand cheap money.” I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension—a total misinterpretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard that will exclude silver, and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard, that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

The two metals have existed side by side in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well nigh forty centuries since “Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth—four hundred shekels of silver—current money with the merchant.” Since that time nations have risen and fallen, races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages and through all these changes silver and gold have reigned supreme as the representatives of value—as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain! And we are here to-day deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham’s time—*the weight of the silver* that shall be “current money with the merchant.”

What power, then, has Congress over gold and silver? It has the exclusive power to coin them ; the exclusive power to regulate their value ; very great, very wise, very necessary powers, for the discreet exercise of which a critical occasion has now risen. However men may differ about causes and processes, all will admit that within a few years a great disturbance has taken place in the relative values of gold and silver, and that silver is worth less or gold is worth more in the money markets of the world in 1878 than in 1873, when the further coinage of silver dollars was prohibited in this country. To remonetize it now as though the facts and circumstances of that day were surrounding us, is to willfully and blindly deceive ourselves. If our demonetization were the only cause for the decline in the value of silver, then remonetization would be its proper and effectual cure. But other causes, quite beyond our control, have been far more potentially operative than the simple fact of Congress prohibiting its further coinage ; and as legislators we are bound to take cognizance of these causes. The demonetization of silver in the great German empire and the consequent partial, or well nigh complete, suspension of coinage in the governments of the Latin Union, have been the leading, dominant causes for the rapid decline in the value of silver. I do not think the over-supply of silver has had, in comparison with these other causes, an appreciable influence in the decline of its value, because its over-supply with respect to gold in these later years has not been nearly so great as was the over-supply of gold with respect to silver for many years after the mines of California and Australia were opened ; and the over-supply of gold from those rich sources did not affect the relative positions and uses of the two metals in any European country.

I believe, then, if Germany were to remonetize silver, and the kingdoms and states of the Latin Union were to reopen their mints, silver would at once resume its former relation with gold. The European countries when driven to full remonetization, as I believe they will be, must of necessity adopt their old ratio of fifteen and a half of silver to one of gold, and we shall then be compelled to adopt the same ratio instead of our former sixteen

to one. For if we fail to do this we shall, as before, lose our silver, which like all things else seeks the highest market; and if fifteen and a half pounds of silver will buy as much gold in Europe as sixteen pounds will buy in America, the silver, of course, will go to Europe. But our line of policy in a joint movement with other nations to remonetize is very simple and very direct. The difficult problem is what we shall do when we aim to re-establish silver without the co-operation of European powers, and really as an advance movement to coerce them there into the same policy. Evidently the first dictate of prudence is to coin such a dollar as will not only do justice among our citizens at home, but will prove a protection—an absolute barricade—against the gold mono-metallists of Europe, who, whenever the opportunity offers, will quickly draw from us the one hundred and sixty millions of gold coin which we still hold. And if we coin a silver dollar of full legal tender, obviously below the current value of the gold dollar, we are opening wide our doors and inviting Europe to take our gold. And with our gold flowing out from us we are forced to the single silver standard, and our relations with the leading commercial countries of the world are at once embarrassed and crippled.

To-day, when the Greenback heresy is practically dead and only brought out to serve the purposes of some ambitious demagogue, it is like reading ancient history to peruse Mr. Blaine's arguments. But as long as politicians can trade on public credulity by reproducing its ancient corpse, it is well to remember his pictures of the era of inflation, when men's minds were turned from honest industry to schemes of financial gambling, the public morals suffered, old-fashioned integrity was forgotten, and solid, enduring prosperity, with honest gains and quiet contentment, was rendered impossible.

So far Mr. Blaine had only to encounter public foes who opposed the statesman, but did not attack the man. But as the preparations for the Presidential campaign were approach-

ing other weapons than those of political warfare were employed. The fact that Mr. Blaine had invested money in railroad bonds was seized on as a handle to attack his personal integrity. Rumors damaging to his character were soon in wide circulation, and an investigation was openly talked of. On the 24th of April, 1876, he anticipated the attack. His words were :

For some months past a charge against me has been circulating in private and was recently made public—designing to show that I had in some indirect manner received the large sum of \$64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871—for what services or for what purpose has never been stated.

Then, after citing the testimony of Mr. G. H. Rollins, and Messrs. Morton, Bliss & Co., he states that the charge reappeared in another form, to this effect :

That a certain draft was negotiated at the house of Morton, Bliss & Co., in 1871, through Thomas A. Scott, then President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for the sum of \$64,000, and that \$75,000 of the bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company were pledged as collateral ; that the Union Pacific Company paid the draft and took up the collateral ; that the cash proceeds of it went to me, and that I had furnished, or sold, or in some way conveyed or transferred to Thomas A. Scott these Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds which had been used as collateral ; that the bonds in reality had belonged to me or some friend or constituent of mine for whom I was acting. I endeavor to state the charge in its boldest form and in all its phases.

I desire here and now to declare that all and every part of this story that connects my name with it is absolutely untrue, without one particle of foundation in fact and without a tittle of evidence to substantiate it. I never had any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road or the bonds of any other railroad, or any

business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely. I never had any business transaction whatever with the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or any of its officers or agents or representatives, and never in any manner received from that company, directly or indirectly, a single dollar in money, or stocks, or bonds, or any other form of value. And as to the particular transaction referred to, I never so much as heard of it until nearly two years after its alleged occurrence, when it was talked of at the time of the Credit Mobilier investigation in 1873.

To give a seeming corroboration or foundation to the story which I have disproved, the absurd rumor has lately appeared in certain newspapers that I was the owner of from \$150,000 to \$250,000 of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad bonds, which I received without consideration, and that it was from these bonds that Thomas A. Scott received his \$75,000. The statement is gratuitously and utterly false.

Let me now, Mr. Speaker, briefly summarize what I have presented.

First, that the story of my receiving \$64,000 or any other sum of money or other thing of value from the Union Pacific Railroad Company, directly or indirectly, or in any form, for myself or for another, is absolutely disproved by the most conclusive testimony.

Second, that no bond of mine was ever sold to the Atlantic and Pacific or the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad Company, and that not a single dollar of money from either of those companies ever went to my profit or benefit.

Third, that instead of receiving bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith road as a gratuity, I never had one except at the regular market price, and that instead of making a large fortune out of that company, I have incurred a severe pecuniary loss from my investment in its securities which I still retain. And out of such affairs as this grows the popular gossip of large fortunes amassed in Congress!

I can hardly expect, Mr. Speaker, that any statement from me will stop the work of those who have so industriously circulated

these calumnies. For months past the effort has been energetic and continuous to spread these stories in private circles. Emissaries of slander have visited the editorial rooms of leading Republican papers from Boston to Omaha, and whispered of revelations to come that were too terrible even to be spoken in loud tones. And at last the revelations have been made !

I am now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth year of a not inactive service in this Hall. I have taken and have given blows. I have, no doubt, said many things in the heat of debate which I would now gladly recall. I have, no doubt, given votes which in fuller light I would gladly change. But I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the faintest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience, and the great Searcher of hearts.

Nothing can be more explicit than this denial. Yet on the 2d of May, Mr. Tarbox, of Massachusetts, introduced a resolution demanding an investigation by the Judiciary Committee. The resolution was passed, the investigation began ; no startling disclosures rewarded its labors till on the 30th of May, Warren Fisher, Jr., of Boston, and James Mulligan, of the same city, were produced. The story of the Mulligan letters we leave for an appendix, in which we give the report from the *Congressional Record*, and Mr. Walter W. Phelps' explanatory letter. It is sufficient here to notice the suggestive coincidence of the attack with the approach of a political convention, at which it was currently believed Mr. Blaine would be nominated for the Presidency.

From May to June is one month. Perhaps the gentlemen of the investigating committee remembered General Warren's famous command at Bunker Hill, "Don't fire until you see the white of their eyes." In any event we cannot think it wholly accidental that the volley was not fired until victory seemed already within the grasp of the foe. The coincidence,

at all events, has the look of one of those dramatic catastrophes which are intended to surprise everybody but the stage carpenter and the actors.

Mr. Blaine's defense was regarded by his party as complete and satisfactory. But it was to him a costly vindication ; the strain was intense, the reaction sudden and severe. On Sunday morning, June 11, as he was ascending the steps of the Rev. Dr. Rankin's church in Washington, he sat down upon the steps and said to his wife :

"Mamma, my head pains me ; I am afraid I am sunstruck. Call a carriage ; take me home and send for Dr. Pope."

The news that he was dangerously ill was flashed across the country and turned the tide of popular sympathy in his favor. The sunstroke served to close the investigation. Mr. Blaine never again took his seat in the House of Representatives, nor was the subject ever resumed by the Congressional Committee, so far as related to him. With the adjournment of the National Convention the occasion of inquiry passed away, and its promoters lost all interest in the matter.

CHAPTER X.

BLAINE IN THE SENATE.

The Cincinnati Convention, 1876.—The candidates.—Blaine most popular.—Ingersoll's speech.—Hayes (nominated) elected.—Blaine's coolness on receipt of the news.—His telegram to Hayes.—Blaine on the stump.—Ohio campaign.—Blaine's memory.—Speech at the Cooper Union.—Blaine as Senator.—His farewell letter.—His opposition to Hayes' policy.—Silver Dollar Bill.—The Navy.—The tariff laws.—Outrages at the polls.—The riders on appropriation bills.—Chinese immigration.—Blaine's speech.—His letter to Lloyd Garrison.—The State of Maine.

ON Wednesday, June 14, the National Republican Convention met in the city of Cincinnati to nominate the party candidate for the Presidency. The names most prominently before the country for the nomination were James G. Blaine of Maine, Roscoe Conkling of New York, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, and Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky. In addition to this distinguished list, Ohio presented the name of her Governor, R. B. Hayes.

Mr. Blaine was unquestionably the choice of a majority of the Republican party of the country, but he had competitors of no mean following in Messrs. Conkling and Morton. The former was then the absolute leader of the dominant political party in the Empire State, while the iron-willed war-governor of Indiana had performed services in the most trying hour of National distress which endeared him to the people of the Union. He was furthermore the candidate from a pivotal and uncertain State. Mr. Bristow, as Secretary of the Treasury, had secured the potent vitality of his candidacy from the

commanding position he held as the chief of the thousands of minor officials of the Department in every district in the United States, and his following was of that character which always proves unreliable when put to the test.

Under such circumstances the Convention assembled, with Mr. Blaine unquestionably the most prominent member of his party from a National standpoint, endowed with those characteristics which marked him as the standard-bearer in the impending contest.

His friends were numerous and active ; they were confident of triumph, when in the very crisis of their struggle came the news that the champion for whom they were laboring was prostrated. All sorts of rumors went abroad. Some said the sunstroke would prove fatal, or if not fatal to life, would leave the victim crippled for further intellectual exertion. Others alleged that the illness was feigned to arouse the public sympathy. Others again asserted that the attack was not sunstroke, but apoplexy, from which Blaine could not possibly recover in time to endure the strain and excitement of a campaign.

But his friends stood fast and kept their hopes above their fears. There were no defections. On the day of the Convention Hon. Eugene Hale received the following telegram :

I am entirely convalescent, suffering only from physical weakness. Impress upon my friends the great depth of gratitude I feel for the unparalleled steadfastness with which they have adhered to me in my hour of trial.

J. G. BLAINE.

The excitement was great. But Blaine was still the leading candidate. Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, was temporary chairman and Hon. Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania, was permanent chairman.

The great city of Cincinnati was filled with excited poli-

ticians, all discussing, criticising, or wildly lauding the various candidates. In all the cities and large towns of the country, crowds stood in front of newspaper offices and telegraph stations with excited anxiety. The great Convention awaited with an intensity of emotion that none but those who were there could realize to be true. When the time came to bring Blaine's name before that body, a silence deep and oppressive followed the din and uproar of the previous hour. But when Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois, ascended the platform as the advocate for the friends of Blaine, the enthusiasm was displayed in wild and almost frantic shouts and signals. His speech that evening, placing Mr. Blaine in nomination, would have ensured the latter's success, had not an adjournment been necessitated by the failure of the gas. Said he :

Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow ; so am I. But if any man nominated by this Convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this Convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory. The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intellect, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest and broadest and best sense of that word. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people, with not only the requirements of the hour, but the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this Government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this Government. They demand a man who will sacredly prove the financial honor

of the United States—one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people. One who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar. One who knows enough to know that all the money must be made not by hand, but by labor. One who knows that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honesty to pay it over just as fast as they make it. The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption when they come must come together. When they come they will come hand in hand; hand in hand through the golden harvest-fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindle and the turning wheel; hand in hand by the open furnace-doors, hand in hand by the flaming forges, hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire by the hands of the countless sons of toil. This money has got to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions at a political meeting. The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this Government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that every government that will not defend its defenders and will not protect its protectors is a disgrace to the mass of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation of church and the schools. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star, but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full habit and rounded measure all of these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party, James G. Blaine. Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of its past, prophetic of its future—asks for a man who has the audacity of genius—asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brains beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host, led by that intrepid man, there can be no defeat. This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with the legends of

liberty; a year in which the sons of Freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which we call for the man that has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; a man that has snatched the mask of democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who up to this moment is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is worse than if an army should desert their general on the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free. Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the Great Republic—the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth—in the name of all her defenders and all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living, in the name of all her soldiers who died upon the field of battle, and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby—whose sufferings he so eloquently remembers—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.

Mr. Blaine's opponents estimated his strength on the first ballot at 286 votes; the tellers counted 285. The sixth ballot gave him 308 votes, to 113 for Mr. Hayes; but a combination of the forces of Conkling and Morton in favor of the Ohio Governor resulted in his nomination on the seventh ballot by a vote of 384, Mr. Blaine receiving 351 votes, and Mr. Bristow 21.

The coolness and the self-possession with which Mr. Blaine received the news is characteristic of the man. One who was present at the time tells the story:

"I happened to be in his library in Washington when the balloting was going on in Cincinnati on that hot June day in 1876. A telegraph instrument was on his library table, and Mr. Sherman, his private secretary, a deft operator, was manipulating its key. Dispatches came from dozens of friends giving the last votes, which only lacked a few of a nomination, and everybody predicted the success of Blaine on the next ballot. Only four persons besides Mr. Sherman were in the room. It was a moment of great excitement. The next vote was quietly ticked over the wire, and then the next announced the nomination of Mr. Hayes. Mr. Blaine was the only cool person in the apartment. It was such a reversal of all anticipations and assurances that self-possession was out of the question except with Mr. Blaine. He had just left his bed after two days of unconsciousness with sunstroke, but he was as self-possessed as the portraits on the wall. He merely gave a murmur of surprise, and before anybody had recovered from the surprise, he had written, in a firm, fluent hand, three dispatches—now in my possession—one to Mr. Hayes of congratulation :

To Gov. R. B. HAYES, Columbus, Ohio.

I offer you my sincerest congratulations on your nomination. It will be alike my highest pleasure as well as my first political duty to do the utmost in my power to promote your election. The earliest moments of my returning and confirmed health will be devoted to securing you as large a vote in Maine as she would have given for myself.

J. G. BLAINE.

one to the Maine delegates thanking them for their devotion, and another to Eugene Hale and Mr. Frye, asking them to go personally to Mr. Hayes, at Columbus, and present his goodwill, with promises of hearty aid in the campaign. The oc-

casion affected him no more than the news of a servant quitting his employ would have done. Half an hour afterward he was out with Secretary Fish in an open carriage, receiving the cheers of the thousands of people who were gathered about the telegraph bulletins."

When the campaign opened he made his word of promise to Mr. Hayes good, in more than seventy speeches delivered in twelve closely contested States. In Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, he presented with untiring zeal and convincing power the issues of the campaign. His speeches were usually made in the open air, for no hall was large enough to contain the crowds that thronged to hear him. At Troy, N. Y., he addressed 20,000 people, the largest political meeting held in the State since the campaign of 1844, of which Daniel Webster and Horace Greeley were the great speakers. At Cooper Union, in New York City, equal enthusiasm prevailed, and the air, it is said, was black with hats and white with handkerchiefs. At Chicago, Grand Rapids, Detroit, Toledo, thousands upon thousands paid homage to his eloquence. In Ohio, Hayes rallies were advertised as Blaine meetings, and banners and transparencies bearing his name were carried in the procession. The popular enthusiasm which everywhere greeted him was a notable triumph for one who a few months before had been forced to defend his honorable name in the halls of Congress.

Judge Thurman tells an anecdote of this Ohio campaign, which is worthy of note, as it in some degree will show whence comes Blaine's influence with the people :

All the people of both parties turned out to hear him. I have among my clients a prominent old farmer, who is one of the wealthiest men in the county. He was a good Republican, and after Blaine got through speaking, and was shaking hands with

everybody, I saw my old client in the crowd looking on at the orator of the day rather interestedly.

I said to him, "Squire Brown" (that is not his name, but it will do here), "would you like to know Mr. Blaine?"

Of course he said he would; so I took him to the Maine statesman and introduced him, at the same time telling Blaine who he was. Blaine's eye was instantly caught by the handsome appearance and style of his trotters. One of them particularly pleased him, and he said to my client that the colt should be trained, as it would make a very superior trotter. Well, after a five minutes' talk, Blaine went away.

In 1880 he came into Ohio again and to my town. He spoke to an immense audience as usual. In the crowd was my old Republican client, Squire Brown. He was waiting in the outskirts of the audience, wondering if Mr. Blaine would remember him if he went to speak to him. All at once Blaine caught sight of the old man. He went straight up to him, called his name, and after a few words said :

"Squire Brown, did you ever train the near colt of that team you were driving when I was here four years ago? I have often thought of that colt, and I believe he would make a great horse if trained."

"Now," said Judge Thurman, "here was a man who had made a canvass for the Presidency, and had a nation's labor almost on his shoulders, and yet so wonderful was his memory that the least incident fixed itself there and was never forgotten. I have never known any one in my day with a memory like that, and now I begin to understand why it is that Blaine's popularity is so much greater than any other man in his party."

In all parts his reception was one of the most astonishing ovations ever seen in the country.

It seemed to be generally believed that Mr. Blaine would be the successor of General Hayes in the Presidency, and many expressed their devotion to him as they took him by the hand,

in such words as these: "Sorry we cannot vote for you this time, but we will next," and "Thank the Lord I have got a chance to take you by the hand," and many other similar expressions.

His reception at the hall of the Cooper Union was one of the grandest political demonstrations which New York had ever witnessed. In every respect the audience was one which reflected credit upon the intelligence and patriotism of the metropolis.

The appearance of the ex-Speaker was the signal for a most enthusiastic and tumultuous reception. Men cheered until they were hoarse, women waved their handkerchiefs, and for full five minutes the air resounded with the continuous applause. When the noise of his welcome had sufficiently subsided, Mr. Blaine advanced to the front of the platform and spoke for an hour and a half. His exposure of the meanness, duplicity, and false pretenses of the Democratic Confederate House was telling, and was received with thunders of applause from the entire assemblage. His tribute to the courage of the Republican Senate in resisting the arrogant demands of the ex-rebel Representatives, called forth a renewed tempest of cheering, while his description of the servile submission of the Northern Democratic majority to the Southern Democratic minority was a masterpiece of sarcasm and indignation. The scene when Mr. Blaine left the rostrum was a repetition of his welcome.

On July 10, 1876, Mr. Blaine became, by appointment of Governor Connor, of Maine, the junior Senator from that State, to fill the unexpired term of Hon. Lot M. Morrill, who had resigned to accept the Secretaryship of the Treasury. In the following year he was elected for the full term. In accepting the appointment, Mr. Blaine wrote to his constituents:

Beginning with 1862 you have, by continuous elections, sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to, return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored. It has been my boast, in public and in private, that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years, is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

Mr. Blaine's parliamentary experience, his familiarity with public and political questions, and his acknowledged position as a party leader, gave him at once an influence in the Senate not often accorded to a new member. He spoke to attentive ears on almost every important measure which came up for discussion. He opposed the Electoral Commission Bill on the ground that Congress had not the power to confer upon the Commission the authority with which it was proposed to invest that body ; and as a way out of the difficulty and as a permanent safeguard against the recurrence of a like crisis in the future, he urged the passage of "a Constitutional amendment which would empower the Supreme Court of the United States to peacefully and promptly settle the questions growing out of the disputed electoral votes."

He opposed President Hayes' Southern policy, especially condemning his action in recognizing Democratic State governments in South Carolina and Louisiana in the spring of 1877.

On the question of the navy, two speeches delivered in the Senate, January 22, 1879, and January 27, 1881, clearly defined Mr. Blaine's position. The substance of his views is given in the following extracts :

In any remarks I shall make on the Naval Appropriation Bill, Mr. President, I desire to say in advance that neither in word nor spirit do I intend to criticise the administration of the Navy Department, either present or past, and still less do I intend by the remotest possible implication to make any reflection upon the gallant corps of officers that make up the navy of the United States. I have no desire nor have I any grounds to reflect on either, and if I reflect on any department of the Government it will be on that of which I have had the honor to form a part for a considerable number of years. If there be any fault to be criticised, if there be any practice to be reformed, if there be any reorganization that is desirable and demanded, it is for Congress to do it; and if it should have been made before, it is the fault of Congress not to have made it, and not the fault of either secretary, or bureau chief, or line, or staff, or warrant-officer, in the navy.

At the same time, I must speak my mind very freely about what I consider the present condition of the navy, and first and especially about the large number of officers the navy contains. We have limited the navy by law to 7,500 men, and for those 7,500 men, taking in commissioned officers of staff and line and warrant-officers, and not counting the retired list, of course, which should not be brought into discussion, we have a total of 2,020 officers, or we have to-day one officer to three men and a fraction in the navy. That is excessive. I should infer so without any knowledge on the subject, and of course as to the organization of the navy I do not profess to know much; but I should infer on the mere statement that it was excessive; and to prove that it must be excessive, I have here the last register of the British navy. Our navy, as I have said, is limited to 7,500 men. We have in all in the navy to-day ninety-one vessels. We have thirty-eight to-day, I believe, in commission, as the term is, and

we have, as I have already remarked, 2,020 officers. Take the British navy, which has 320 steam-vessels of war, and a total, including all that belongs to the navy, of 494 vessels. They have 4,990 officers, with something over 60,000 men, in the navy. They have available for naval service more than five times the vessels in number and far more than that proportion in effective force; and while they have between nine and ten times as many sailors as we have, they have less than twice and a half the number of officers. Or, if you choose to take it in another form, throwing out the warrant-officers and taking simply the officers of the line, rejecting the staff, we show a total of about 800, and counting the cadets, who are counted also in the British computation, we show about 1,000, and the British show against that about 2,300.

The comparison is quite as discouraging if we look at the French navy, which has a total number of line officers of 1,529; and I also hold the French naval register in my hand, or a book which contains the statistics. The French navy, in point of number of vessels, is almost as large as the British navy. Of course, we all know that it is not so effective, but it is many times as large as ours, and yet the line officers of the navy of France are not more than double the line officers of the navy of the United States, possibly a shade more than double. I infer that these facts are worthy of our attention. I infer that we are having a navy far more numerous in the department of officers than we require to the number of ships or the number of men to which we have limited it by law.

Take the navy-yards. For the immense navy of Great Britain, the largest and most effective in the world, there are in the whole island two great navy-yards, Chatham and Portsmouth, and two subordinate ones at Sheerness and Devonport, making in all four. The French navy has three principal yards, Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon, and two subordinate ones at Rochefort and Lorient. We have on this coast, from latitude 37° to latitude 43° , on six degrees of coast latitude, seven navy-yards. We have one at Washington, one at Norfolk, one at Philadelphia, one at New York, one *in posse* if not *in esse* at New London,

one at Charlestown, and one at Kittery or Portsmouth. Of course, that is beyond all possible requirement of our navy. We have one at Pensacola, which it is presumed it is necessary to retain for the Gulf uses, and certainly the one on the Pacific coast is absolutely essential; but that any person can infer that on six degrees of our coast latitude we need seven navy-yards is a vast stretch of imagination.

I might have said, when I was disclaiming any possible intention of either arraigning the civil department of the navy or the line officers themselves, that I have no intention of making any partisan accusation, and still less any intention of making any partisan confession. I do not desire to inculcate either party or to exculpate either, and so far as all these navy-yards, except the shadowy one at New London, are concerned, they come down to us from "the good old days of Democratic economy." We inherited them, and we inherited one more which we have abandoned; that is, the one at Memphis. That was a brilliant streak of economy, of course, to put a navy-yard at Memphis, 800 or 1,000 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi River. The old story went that the navy-yard at Memphis was put through Congress because the two rival candidates for Governor in Tennessee, preceding the great contest of 1844 between Mr. Clay and Mr. Polk, both came here, and the Democrat said to a Democratic Congress: "If you do not put this navy-yard through, I am dead;" and the Whig candidate said: "If you Whigs do not vote for it, it will kill us at home." And so they got a pretty nearly unanimous vote for the Memphis navy-yard. And they might as well have put one above the Falls of St. Anthony. It went on in a sort of sickly condition for ten, fifteen, or twenty years, not being finally dismantled until the war.

There is, of course, a vast and useless expenditure in the navy-yards, and a larger and overwhelming expenditure in that department which we do not, in any event, need.

And when you come to the pay of the navy, of course it shows just this proportion. If you have officers you must pay them, and the pay of navy officers in the bill which is now before the Senate is for officers in commission \$3,822,875, for retired officers

\$645,400, and for some other civilian attachés that come under the head of officers, embraced in the fifty-third line and lines following, \$475,000, making a total of \$4,943,275, or of round numbers five million dollars. Next as to the men. For the petty officers, seamen, ordinary seamen, landsmen, and boys, including men in the engineer-force and for the coast-survey service, for all that are included in any form, direct or indirect, in the navy, we pay \$2,300,000; so that of what is called the pay of the navy more than two-thirds, nearly five-sevenths, are required for officers, showing, of course, the top-heavy condition that the register shows in regard to the navy.

From the Naval Academy, for the last fourteen years since the war, we have added an average of fifty officers per annum to the navy, and we are continuing to do it. The rule now is the very same that it is at West Point, or was until last year we had some legislation upon the subject, that any boy who graduates at the Naval Academy, after being duly appointed, shall be commissioned as an officer in the navy. That was so in regard to West Point until the legislation of last year. Congress, by a pretty nearly unanimous vote in both branches, has decided in regard to the graduates at West Point that those only shall be appointed to offices in the army for whom there are vacancies at the time of graduation. I think that ought to be the case in regard to the navy; if not, you are liable to add from fifty to seventy-five officers annually to our navy, and there is no limit now fixed by law at all to the lower grade. We fix the limit down to ensigns, but for midshipmen there is no limit at all, and you may pile in midshipmen until they are there by the thousand for that matter if you take time enough, and at the rate at which retirement or death thins out the upper grades of the navy you will find such a disparity between the incoming and the outgoing as must lead to a steady annual increase in the officers of the navy.

Now, I ask simply that, after 1883, graduation at the Naval Academy shall not of itself entitle a man to be commissioned in the navy, but that only such number shall be commissioned for whom there are vacancies in the navy at the time, leaving the academic board to determine that on the merit of the graduates.

I put it at 1883, just as last year the legislation respecting West Point was put at 1882, for the simple reason that the boys who have been appointed to the Naval Academy, just as those who were appointed to West Point, went there with the understanding and, if you choose, with the pledge, from the United States, that, upon graduation, they should be appointed to office, and I certainly would not break the faith of the United States to the naval cadet, but let every one who has been entered with that understanding under the law have its full benefit ; but if you make the law now for the next year, the naval cadet who enters understands from that day that his entrance upon the naval list of the United States depends upon the merit of his graduation, and that only those shall be selected from the graduating-class for whom there are vacancies at the time.

It seems to me that this is entirely just, and in the case of West Point, and of the Naval Academy also, I do not think it will be any harm to graduate a very large number who are not entered in the army or navy. They will have no ground to find fault certainly. They will have received great educational advantages as a gratuity from their Government ; they are equipped for the battle of life ; and if ever the Government has need of their services, as it unfortunately did in a recent era, they will come in the future as they did in the past—for there was a very small number of graduates at West Point that did not find their way into the army, on one side or the other, during the late war ; and so it will be in the future. You will have a military knowledge spread throughout the country, and, no matter how many shall graduate there at the public expense under the present organization, let only those be put upon the regular army list who stand highest, and who are for the time being needed to fill vacancies actually existing.

Mr. President, of course I would not do a harsh thing to the naval officers. I have no proposition to make except that a naval board composed of officers themselves shall tell us what we ought to do. I would not turn out an officer who had a good record, and who had devoted the best years of his life to the service of the United States ; but by retirement, made larger than it now is

by some form which is easily to be devised by men who take the subject into consideration, we can bring down our men to the proper proportion of officers and men ; and we can, by dispensing with the surplus number, and by dispensing with useless navy-yards, and in other ways, reduce the naval expenses of this country by a very large figure.

And then, connected with this, and of more interest to me than any other part of it, is the fact that we are trying the impossible experiment of building a navy from the top. It never has been done, and it never will be done in this world. You cannot make a navy by graduating cadets at Annapolis. It is in that respect different from an army. Our experience in the last war, on both sides, shows that men make good soldiers in three months, and in a year they are veterans. That is not the case with the navy. You cannot improvise a sailor any more than you can improvise a mountain. He has to grow, and you cannot grow him as an exotic. You cannot grow a sailor in your navy unless there is a surrounding commercial atmosphere, unless there is a great mercantile marine that shall continually replenish it and build it up from the bottom. There never has been a navy in this world worth anything that did not grow out of a mercantile marine ; there never will be. In regard to our mercantile marine the contrast since some of us here entered Congress, the contrast since the beginning of the war with the present time, is very startling. When we needed a blockade from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the capes of the Delaware we had 70,000 sailors on board our ships. Eight thousand sailors were enlisted in one town in my own State, the city of Portland ; 22,000 sailors were enlisted at Boston. I should like any man to get 8,000 sailors enlisted at Portland or 22,000 at Boston to-day. They are gone. Our mercantile marine, by a variety of causes, is swept away, and of the causes leading to its destruction too much has been attributed, in my judgment, to the effects of the war. The war had a great deal to do with it ; but had that been simply the cause we would have recovered from it, for its effect was in its nature temporary. But the real cause was deeper and far more serious than the four years' war, however serious that was.

The war only gave an opportunity to our rivals. If there had not been new conditions, we should have been able, after the war, to have recovered ourselves. But those new conditions were and are to-day, as has been repeated here over and over again on this side of the chamber and on that: those conditions are that the commerce of the world has entirely changed, and you might just as well attempt to arm your soldiers with bows and arrows as to rebuild the mercantile marine of the United States by a mere increase of sailing-vessels. The marine of the future, more and more every day, is a steam marine, and we who stand here furnishing a larger amount of freight than any other country in the world—I was going to say any other two countries; I doubt if there be any two countries in the world that furnish as large an amount of ocean freight as the United States—we stand here to-day gaining nothing whatever out of that, or so little that it only serves to “point the moral.” We furnished last year 13,000,000 tons of ocean freight, and the profit on carrying that and the passengers that belong to the sea was \$115,000,000.

Mr. Thurman—Does that include the coasting trade?

Mr. Blaine—No; wholly foreign. It all went from our shores and came back. That which goes of course is more bulky when you measure it by tons than that which comes.

Mr. Eaton—Over \$80,000,000 in gold was paid into the pockets of foreign shipowners.

Mr. Blaine—My friend anticipates me in that. Nearly \$89,000,000 out of \$115,000,000 was so paid into foreign hands; I believe only \$26,000,000 into ours; and that has been going on and is going on and will continue to go on unless the United States does something that shall change it. And we cannot afford not to change it. I say to the Honorable Chairman of the Committee of Finance that unless conditions that we dare not anticipate should continue to favor us, it is not a possible thing in this country to maintain over a long series of years specie payment here with that draught made upon our resources; and with that draught stopped, specie payment will maintain itself. Gentlemen here remember the panic of 1857, how it

smote the country, how it went over the continent with the force and violence of a tornado, prostrating great mercantile houses and manufacturing and commercial interests, and yet inside of ninety days from the suspension of specie payment the banks of New York, Baltimore, and all the great cities of the country resumed. Why were they able to resume specie payment after that disastrous panic? Simply because the freight moneys that lay to the credit of American commerce in London were gold to be called on by those who here needed it for the resumption of specie payments, and the gold that was deposited in London to the credit of American ship-masters and American ship-owners was the very gold on which the banks of this country resumed in 1858, and that is the gold that we do not have to-day. We should have had no need, we should have been under no necessity, of selling bonds to buy gold to resume specie payments, if our fair share of the freight moneys on our own commerce had been coming into our coffers. Eighty-nine million dollars went last year into the coffers of Europe on American freight; less than \$26,000,000 came here. Give us our fair share, and specie payment, I repeat, will maintain itself. * * * *

Take a \$500,000 ship; a ship of about 3,000 or 3,500 tons, and a steamship of that size first-class, fully equipped for freight and passengers, costs just about a half-million of dollars. There is not a single thing that goes into that ship from the time her keel is laid until she is ready for sea that cannot be produced in this country, and that is not produced in this country, except tin—the few dollars' worth of tin in her.

Mr. Dorsey—We have tin in California.

Mr. Blaine—I am corrected. I am told that California produces tin. But you may take all the hundred things that go into that vessel, and they are all produced in this country, from the tree in the forest to the ore in the mine; and what does my honorable friend from Connecticut, who knows more of statistics than I do, say is the value of the raw material, and when you get that \$500,000 ship ready for the sea, what part of her represents actual material and what part labor? There is five thousand dollars' worth of material in her, and four hundred and ninety-

five thousand dollars' worth of labor. Begin with the iron in the ore and the wood in the tree, and you have only five thousand dollars' worth of material in a thirty-five-hundred-ton ship, and every particle of the remainder has been produced and inwrought and upbuilt by American labor, and I understand my friend from Connecticut to insist that we had better have that \$495,000 expended on the other side.

Three-fourths, I do not know but I may overstate it, but certainly one-half the report of the Secretary of the Navy is devoted to the commerce of the country, and a very able report it is. It does him honor. I certainly am not out of order in discussing on the naval bill that to which the head of the department himself devotes so large a portion of his report. I say again, that what may be saved out of the naval appropriation will do that which I have already adverted to for American commerce. We do not show any of this, can I call it stinginess? in any other department. We have given 200,000,000 acres of public land to railroads: we have given \$60,000,000 in money; and taking the value of those lands and the value of that money, and adding them together, it is safe to say that we have endowed railroads in this country with \$500,000,000.

From 1846 to 1871, the Congress of the United States passed ninety-one acts for promoting the building of railroads. There has not been much legislation since 1871. There has been a reaction against the policy, but from 1846 to 1871, I repeat, a period of twenty-five years, the Congress of the United States passed ninety-one different acts and endowed the railroad system of this country with \$500,000,000 of money, and that \$500,000,000 of money produced more than \$5,000,000,000 of money in this country. My judgment is that the Congress of the United States, in everything they did in that respect, did wisely. They cheapened freights. Clinton's Ditch, as it used to be called, was sneered at when it was an experiment, but the minute the water was let into it, it reduced the freights that had been \$100 from Buffalo to New York down to \$7 a ton; and it is not an exaggeration to say that at that day, before railroads were among us, the water that was let in from Lake Erie to that canal added \$100,000,000 to the value of the farms west of it.

As individuals, cities, towns, counties, States, a nation, we have exerted ourselves to the utmost point of enterprise and vigor to build up railroads. We have a system that outruns all the world, and with great trunk lines threading the continent north, south, east, and west, in every direction. The very moment we reach the ocean limit, we seem to think we have done our duty, and that when we have got transportation to that point it no longer interests us, and we can safely give that over to the foreigner. Why, from Chicago to Liverpool is one direct line. I wonder how it would sound if Mr. Vanderbilt, who is running a line of steamships manned by foreign men, commanded by foreign officers, built in foreign yards, whose money earnings go entirely outside of this country, were to apply that to the New York Central Railroad, and select all the brakemen and switchmen and conductors and tenders and officers on the Central Railroad from foreigners; to put all the locomotives on it that are made in England; to let all its earnings be exported. Such a policy would not be one particle more detrimental and destructive to the interests of this country than for us, when that Central Railroad has touched salt water, with all the countless products of the fertile West, to give up all the profits of participation in the transportation of them beyond. From Chicago to Liverpool is a route of four thousand miles. We operate one thousand miles of it, and give three thousand miles to the foreigner.

Our ancestors of the last generation were not so squeamish on this subject. They were not afflicted with theories; they were intensely practical, and after the peace of 1815 following the war of 1812 our commerce ran ahead of Great Britain's to such an extent that absolute alarm seized England. During the administration of John Quincy Adams, in a single year of the commerce between this country and Europe, one hundred and forty-five millions were carried in American vessels, and only fourteen millions in those of other nations. The commerce amounted to about one hundred and sixty millions, and American vessels carried one hundred and forty-five millions of it; and I beg the Senator from Connecticut to remember that then in Parliament,

and then through all their chambers of commerce, and then throughout all the commercial agencies of Great Britain, an agitation was made that they would import free ships from America. They did not do it. They concluded that that would be their utter and final ruin, and that they never could catch up with us if they did that, and they resisted it; and they resisted it up to the point and until the time when they had got so far ahead by aid from Government, by the upbuilding of a great commerce, that they could successfully defy and laugh at competition. Then came in their free-shipping act; and the policy which the Senator from Connecticut invites us to to-day is precisely that which free-traders in this country on looking at England will find that she took into consideration and condemned and rejected in 1827 and 1828; and the English marine would never have been what it is to-day, had they not at that time stood just where we ought to stand to-day.

I referred to 1817, to the generation that immediately preceded us; and I address my remarks to that side of the chamber, because they claim a more distinct inheritance from the Jefferson and Madison and Monroe era. Mr. Monroe in 1817 had just come to the Presidency. We had passed an act which, if it were passed to-day, would revive American commerce with such a rapidity and thrill as would astonish people on both sides of the water. We passed an act providing that the products of no country should come into the United States except in American vessels or in the vessels of the producing country, and we held it there for years and years. These triangular voyages that sap the life out of our commerce could not be made under that law.

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Then again, when you say that we are not able to build an American ship in competition with foreign ships, and that we can get other ships cheaper if we will throw open the registry, do not my friends from Connecticut and Kentucky both see that if that be the necessity of to-day it will be far more the necessity to-morrow? It will be a much greater necessity the next day; and it will continue to be so much a necessity that in the course

of a very short time the art of ship-building in this country will have been lost. Senators talk to us about what the nations of Europe do, and say that Germany gets her ships from England, and that other nations get them from abroad. There are but two great naval powers in the world, or able to be great naval powers. The United States and Great Britain are the naval powers of this world; and the idea that with a continent containing the resources we have, with a population possessing the skill we do, with all the traditions and all the inducements that surround and govern the case, a Senator can rise in the American Senate and propose that the American flag be struck and that foreigners be invited to build our ships, and that we in turn agree to be dependent on them for a navy as well as for commerce, is a most extraordinary spectacle, if I may use the phrase.

I will state my views on this subject, and I shall take the privilege of bringing the Senate to some vote that will test its sense on that question. My idea is that the Government of the United States should give to any man or company of men aid from the Treasury of the United States if he or they shall establish and maintain a line of steamships to any foreign port, or I might limit it to European, South American, and Asiatic ports. I would invite competition from San Francisco, from Portland, Oregon, from Galveston, from New Orleans, from Mobile, from Savannah, Charleston, Wilmington, Norfolk, Baltimore, New York, Boston, Portland, and everywhere. I would let all come in who can sustain it. The touchstone is what will be sustained by the trade, and that you can safely leave to the instinct and to the knowledge of American commercial men.

There is no reason in the world why Savannah, that caused the first ship by steam to be sent across the Atlantic, I believe, going from her port and bearing her name, should not be a great seaport. There is certainly no reason why a very great foreign trade should not be concentrated at New Orleans. Some might try that could not probably sustain the enterprise, but there are various points throughout the country on our ocean-front that would maintain with vigor, with success, and with pride to themselves and the country, great lines of steamships to all the foreign

ports in the world. I am radical on the question. I do not suppose the American Congress would go so far as I would, for I would certainly vote directly for the revival of the act of 1817, and I would write as the law of America for the present that the products of any country should come to the United States either in vessels of the exporting country or in our own. If that sounds like unfriendly legislation, if it sounds like extreme legislation, if it involves some contradiction of the policy of the last twenty-five or thirty years, let it be said that we are legislating for an extreme case, and extreme cases require extreme remedies.

We carried five-sevenths of the American commerce when the war broke out. We do not carry one quarter to-day, and if we come out of the deep abyss of humiliation that we are in, we will come out of it by vigorous and strong-nerved and daring legislation, if you please. I would open it to all the business of the country, but I would put the race between American skill and the skill of all the world, with the utmost possible confidence that, sustained by this Government in the race, we would win. It is in our people. With an equal chance we can beat them. But, with the present condition of things, a hope for the revival of American commerce is as idle a hope as ever entered the brain of an insane man. Our trade is falling off one or two per cent. per annum as we stand to-day. It was less this year than it was last. It was less last year than it was the year before. It will be less next year than this.

I know no question that can in any manner engage the attention of the American Senate that is more worthy of their serious consideration and their deep deliberation than this. It is more far-reaching than any question before us, for I repeat, as I intimated, that with this steady drain out of us, this drain of \$85,000,000 a year, in gold coin, this country cannot expect with confidence to maintain a specie basis. An adverse crop, a bad year, a balance of trade against us, and with the whole commercial marine in the hands of foreigners, we put specie payment and American solvency and American prosperity to a test that I shall grieve to see applied, and the result of which would be, I fear, most disastrous.

We voted \$1,500,000 for the navy without thinking. Anything that gets in the rut of an appropriation goes easily. You voted money this year because you did last; we will vote it next year because we did this. Bayard Taylor used to tell a funny story to the effect that in the Russian budget there appeared every year fifty rubles for goose-grease for the prince's nose. He said that one hundred and fifty years ago there was a sore nose on one of the princes, and goose-grease was prescribed for it, and so fifty rubles came into the budget; and although a sore nose has not since been known in the royal family, the fifty rubles have been annually appropriated. Our appropriations run on in the same rut, and we need a stirring up from the bottom and a wholesome change.

When I speak thus I speak, I am sure, as a friend of the navy; I come from the portion of the country that feels great interest in and great sympathy with the navy. But a navy cannot be maintained as a fancy attachment to the Government. The navy must have uses. The United States steam-frigate *Tennessee* has just returned from a three years' cruise. I sent to the Navy Department, and regret that I cannot have it in time to read it here to-day, for a statement of the expenses of that three years' cruise. I might be wild probably if I should venture to give the figures without the data, and therefore I will not do so; but I venture to say that it will surprise every member of the Senate. And I venture to say that on all that long three years' cruise, in all the waters, in all the oceans, on all the shores, the rarest thing the *Tennessee* met in her travels was an American ship, and almost the only flag she saw bearing the Stars and Stripes was at her own masthead.

We want a navy, but we want something for it to do. We want a navy to protect the commerce, but we want a commerce in advance for the navy to protect, and we want a commerce that shall not be one of favoritism, a commerce that shall not benefit one section at the expense of another, but one that shall be equal and just and generous and profitable to all. You will never get it by making this nation a tributary to Great Britain. You will never get it by banishing the art of ship-building from among our

people. You will never get it by discouraging all possible aspirations for maritime and commercial supremacy, by a public proclamation from Congress that after nearly a century of gallant struggle, in which more than three-quarters of the time we were ahead in the race, on account of an accidental mishap that put us behind, we of to-day, not having the nerve or the sagacity of those who went before us, sank before the prospect, and asked other nations to do for us what we have lost the manhood and the energy to do for ourselves.

SHALL WE BUILD OUR SHIPS AT HOME?

— MR. PRESIDENT: If the Senate will indulge me, I should like a few moments, not to reply with any elaboration to what the Senator from Kentucky has said, but to speak very briefly on the various points suggested by him. I should not like to have such a speech as he has delivered go out from the Senate of the United States unanswered for a single day, and I propose, therefore, to review his position, at least in part. I regret that I am compelled to speak without preparation, and with no data except such as I recall from memory.

The first observation I desire to submit is, that the honorable Senator from Kentucky very frankly admits, and did not even attempt to argue against it, that this policy looks forward to a permanent dependence of the United States upon England for her ships. The only slight attempt that the Senator made to rebut the conclusion was in the faint hope expressed by him that the repair-shops which would grow up on this side of the water might develop into machine-shops and ship-yards large enough and numerous enough to construct steam vessels; but throughout the entire argument of the Senator he went upon the presumption, which I repeat he did not even attempt himself to rebut, that his policy looked to a proclaimed and a permanent dependence of this country upon England for a merchant's marine. I do not believe the Senate of the United States, or the Congress of the United States, or the people of the United States are prepared to make that declaration.

It is a fact equally remarkable that for the past twenty-five

years—or make it only for the past twenty years, from the beginning of the war to this hour—the Congress of the United States has not done one solitary thing to uphold the navigation interests of the United States. Decay has been observed going on steadily from year to year. The great march forward of our commercial rival of old has been witnessed and everywhere recognized, and the representatives of the people of the United States have sat in their two houses of legislation as dumb as though they could not speak, and have not offered a single remedy or a single aid. As this has gone on until now the Senator from Kentucky rises in his seat and proposes to make a proclamation of perpetual future dependence of this country upon England for such commerce as she may enjoy, holding up as models to us Germany, Italy, and the other European countries that are as absolutely dependent upon Great Britain for what commerce they enjoy as the District of Columbia is for its legislation upon the Congress of the United States.

During these years, in which Congress has not stepped forward to do one thing for the foreign commerce of this country, for all that vast external transportation whose importance the Senator from Kentucky has not exaggerated, but has strongly depicted, the same Congress has passed ninety-two acts in aid of internal transportation by rail; it has given 200,000,000 acres of the public lands, worth to-day a thousand million dollars in money, and has added \$70,000,000 in cash, and yet, I repeat, it has extended the aid of scarcely a single dollar to build up our foreign commerce. An energetic and able man who found a great ocean highway unoccupied, and had the enterprise to put American vessels of the best construction and great power upon it, has been held up to scorn and to reproach because he came to the American Congress and said: "If you will do for this line what the empire of Brazil will do, I will give you a great line of steamships from New York to Rio Janeiro." The empire of Brazil had said to this enterprising man: "We will pay you a hundred thousand dollars a year if you will run this line;" and New England Senators, I regret to say, who represent the protective system in this country, said with a quiet complacency:

“If Brazil is willing to pay for that, we need not.” Brazil has got tired paying all and the United States paying none. Just as soon as it was found that we would not pay, a combination of English ship-builders said: “We will put on our ships and run that American line off; we will carry the coffee of Brazil to the United States for nothing; we will break down this attempt of the United States to begin a race upon the ocean;” and they have pretty nearly succeeded, while we have looked on with apparent unconcern, and by our indifference favoring the efforts of the English line.

Yet during the whole of Great Britain’s mastery of the sea, when she has been seeking every line that could be found on which a steamer could float, she has never put on lines to carry from an American port to any foreign ports, but only to her own. You cannot get a British and South American steamship line except on the triangular system that will go from New York to Liverpool taking breadstuffs or cotton, from Liverpool to Rio Janeiro taking British fabrics, from Rio Janeiro to New York bringing coffee and dyewoods; but when the proposition is made that they shall go back from New York to Rio, they decline because they do not want to interfere with the prosperity of England at home by furnishing transportation to any point for American fabrics for competition with British fabrics. The result is that if this Brazilian line shall be taken off, as in all probability it will if the United States extends no aid, then the letters of the United States, of the merchants of New York and Philadelphia and Baltimore and Boston, will be conveyed to Rio Janeiro via Liverpool and reach that point over two great lines of British steamships.

The frank admission of the honorable Senator from Kentucky took away a large part of the argument which I thought I should have to make, and that was to prove that if the United States to-day is incompetent to compete with Great Britain in the manufacture of iron ships, and if you admit iron ships from Great Britain absolutely free of duty, you will be still more incompetent to do it next year. It takes, in the language of the trade, what is called a great “plant” to build steamships; it

takes a large investment of money ; it takes large and powerful machinery ; it requires the investment of millions to start with ; and if in addition to all that has been done abroad to build up English ship-yards we pour into them all the patronage that can come from this country, I should like the honorable Senator from Kentucky or any other Senator to tell me exactly at what point of time it will come to pass that any feeble effort on this side will begin to compete with those great yards. If you abandon it this year because you are unable, you will be far more unable next year, you will be still less able the year ensuing, and every year will add to the monopoly of British power in that respect and to the absolute weakness and prostration of American power in competition. But I will say that the frank admission of the honorable Senator from Kentucky of the future and perpetual dependence upon England, removes the necessity of arguing that point. He frankly admits it with all its damaging force. It is always lawful to be taught by an enemy (*fas est ab hoste doceri*). Great Britain has been our great commercial rival, and since the first Cunard steamship came into Boston, just about forty years ago, when Great Britain, seeing that steam was to play so great and commanding a part in the navigation of the world, first made her venture, from that time down to the close of 1878, she had paid from her treasury to aid great steamship lines all over the world a sum exceeding forty million pounds sterling, more than two hundred millions of American dollars. I know it is a favorite argument with those who occupy the position of the honorable Senator from Kentucky that Great Britain started upon this plan and followed it for a long period of years, and afterwards abandoned it. Sir, she has never abandoned it. She has only abandoned its extension to those lines that were strong enough to go alone, and the British post-office report for the year 1879 shows that under the despised and ridiculed head of postal aid, to which the honorable Senator from Kentucky was pleased to refer with such sneers, Great Britain paid last year £783,000, well nigh four million dollars in coin.

France gets her steamships from England. France has adopted the commercial policy which the honorable Senator from

Kentucky thinks would be the revival of the American shipping interest ; but does France, by the mere fact of getting her ships built at Birkenhead or on the Clyde, abandon the plan, which has been for thirty years in operation under her government, of aiding her ships? Why, sir, last year France paid 23,000,000 francs—more than four and a half million dollars—to aid her steamship lines. And when the celebrated line of France, the company known as Messageries Imperiales, competed too sharply in the Mediterranean waters after the opening of the Suez Canal, when that great French company competed with the Peninsular and Oriental Company of England and was likely to endanger its supremacy by a sharp rivalry, Great Britain promptly stepped forward and added £100,000 to the Peninsular and Oriental subsidy. That is the way Great Britain has abandoned the idea of aiding her great commercial interests !

Italy, that is hemmed in upon a lake, with a territory that does not touch either of the great oceans, is running up largely in steam-navigation. Italy last year paid 8,000,000 francs ; and even Austria, that enjoys but a single seaport on the upper end of the Adriatic, pays \$500,000 towards stimulating commercial ventures from Trieste. Now the United States cannot succeed in this great international struggle without adopting exactly the same mode that has achieved victory for France. What is it? It is not to help A B or C D or E F or anybody else by name, neither Mr. John Roach, nor Mr. John Doe, nor Mr. Richard Roe, but to make a great and comprehensive policy that shall give to every company a pledge of aid from the Government of so much per mile for such a term of years. Let the American merchant feel that the Government of the United States is behind them. Let the United States take from her treasury per annum the \$4,000,000 that Great Britain is paying as a postscript to her \$200,000,000 of investment; let the United States but take \$4,000,000 per annum,—and that is not a great sum for this opulent country,—let that be used as a fund to stimulate any company from any port of the United States to any foreign port, and, without being a prophet or the son of one, I venture to predict that you will see that long-deferred, much-desired event, the revival of the American merchant marine.

Let us do one thing more where England has pointed the way for us. We have nine navy-yards without a navy. If we will put the expense of those navy-yards into the building up of great private ship-yards, it will form subsidy enough, if that hated word shall not offend the delicate ears of my friend from Kentucky; it will afford aid enough, if that be more to his taste; it will give help enough, in conjunction with the saving on the construction of naval vessels, to float an entire scheme for the revival of American navigation.

We not only withhold our hands from any possible aid to the American merchant marine, but we keep up the shadow of a shell of a navy on the most expensive basis that ever a navy was attempted to be organized in the world. Great Britain, I believe, never had but three navy-yards. We support nine. Great Britain's navy is really fifteen times as large as ours is nominally.

Mr. President, we have the largest ocean frontage of any country on the globe. We front all continents; we border the two great seas and the greatest of gulfs. We are necessarily, by our position, in need of a navy.

The honorable Senator from Kentucky has apparently given this subject wide and deep attention, and I should be glad in some subsequent effort of his to be informed, after he has brought this country to a state of absolute dependence for our mercantile marine upon Great Britain, how he proposes to uphold our navy, how he proposes to build the vessels, where he is going to get his ship carpenters? I do not speak of the sailors; you can get them from outside. How is he going to retain among this people and in this people the very rudimentary art of ship-building for large ocean-going steamers when his policy absolutely forbids the remotest prospects of any vessels being built here?

I do not expect this Congress to do anything; I am not talking with the slightest hope that that will come about. I know it will come some time. I know the scheme of the honorable Senator from Kentucky, even if Congress should adopt it, would disappoint everybody. It would disappoint everybody except the English ship-builder; it would not disappoint him. Yet I ven-

ture to say it would not be followed at all, as the honorable Senator says, by Americans largely investing in British ships; and the reason why I say that is because they can do it to-day without the aid of new law, and yet they do not. The Williams and Guion line, half American, half British, opens just as good an investment, if you are looking at it merely from the money side, as though they had an American registry. The honorable Senator from Kentucky himself has told us that the Philadelphia line is now running one half British-built vessels. Why not all? He says that money is not sentimental. I agree to it; and if the object of going into navigation is altogether apart from any consideration of national flag or national defense, if that be the sole end and aim, then I remind the honorable Senator from Kentucky that any man who has a thousand or a million dollars to invest can freely invest it in a British bottom, and he would escape much taxation that he would find if he registered in New York or in Boston; and he could in many ways perhaps expedite the gathering of profit unto himself by keeping a British register rather than by accepting one from America.

It opens no possible temptation to a man desiring to invest in navigation to say to him: "You may go abroad, to England, and buy a vessel and bring her to New York, and we will allow you to register there at the Custom-house, and you may float the American flag." "No, I thank you," the shrewd investor replies. "If I do that I am going to have more taxation than I shall have in Liverpool or Bristol. I prefer to keep the registry over there,"—just as the Williams and Guion line does. There are gentlemen in New York deriving dividends from that line just as there are gentlemen in Philadelphia deriving dividends from the line there that is partly made up of British vessels. The very moment you disconnect the entire idea of a national marine and the building of it here, the very moment you put it down on the simple basis of dollars and cents, regardless of anything American in it, then there is no temptation whatever, and you offer no extra inducement by saying that the vessel may be registered here, not the slightest in the world, and it would not

be done. When the Senator from Kentucky holds up the brilliant prospect that the repair-shops might be the germ and the seed of a future marine, he, in effect, if not by intention, abandons all idea of building ships on this side of the water. And I make bold to tell him that in five years there would be such an utter abandonment, not only of investment from this side, but of building from this side, that the American marine would have ceased to be; "the house of Braganza would have ceased to govern," as Napoleon said when he marched into Portugal.

This subject, Mr. President, never can be considered intelligently; it never can be decided, as ultimately it must be, without taking into account at the same time the naval establishment of the United States and the mercantile marine of the United States. The naval establishment must be the outgrowth of the mercantile marine, just as it always has been, just as it always will be, and where you have no mercantile marine out of which to grow it, you never will have, and no nation ever has had, a naval establishment worthy of the name. As recently as the beginning of the late war the maritime States of this Union were able to offer in that great struggle seven thousand competent officers of the various grades of the volunteer navy, and put on the decks of the blockading-fleet seventy thousand American sailors. Now the Senator from Kentucky, and I think justly, said that a great deal had been made, or attempted to be made, out of a few vessels having been taken by blockade-runners and destroyed, and others frightened into registry abroad, and that many were dating the downfall of the American mercantile marine from that cause, which was one cause, but I quite agree with him that it was not the largest cause, and that it was by no means the principal cause. I quite agree with him that it was coincident merely. But another thing happened just about that time of which the commercial world at least has taken great heed. Up to that date steam-vessels had not been good or great freighters. The side-wheel steamer that did business between this country and Europe was not a great carrying-vessel; she required too much coal; her engine took up too much space; but right in the midst of our war, by a succession of inventions—partly

American and partly British—there was a complete revolution effected in ocean-going steamers, and the revolution can best be described by stating this formula, namely: that prior to that date a vessel of 3,000 tons on a voyage of given length had to make 2,200 tons allowance for coal and machinery, and only 800 tons for freight, while now it is precisely reversed, and they can take 800 tons only for coal and machinery and 2,200 tons for freight. That is the revolution which Great Britain effected, with the numerous advantages coincident with, and therefore oftentimes confused with, that other cause which prostrated us by reason of the war. But the Senator from Kentucky is correct in stating that the destruction of the vessels, large as it was at the time and grievous as the calamity was to individuals and to the country, was not the great principal cause which brought about the revolution from sailing-vessels to the steam marine.

The carrying capacity of an ocean-going steamer is something very surprising to men who have not examined it. The very first steamer of the Roach line, so-called—and they are by no means as large steamers as those of the Cunard and White Star lines between Liverpool and New York—on the very first steamer that went out from New York to Rio, besides an assorted cargo, which in a manifest would seem to be more than could be got into the hold of a vessel, there were rolled into that hold twenty thousand barrels of flour. It seems almost incredible, when you think what that would take in the way of railroad freight-trains. That would be two hundred car-loads, at one hundred barrels to the car, and that was run directly into the hold of that vessel. That is where these vessels have gained so enormously in the carrying trade. It is merely by their huge, prodigious capacity for freight.

It is idle to fight against the inventions of the world; it is idle for us to fold our arms and suppose that wooden vessels are to maintain anything like the importance they have hitherto had in the commerce of the world. I think I understand something of that subject. I have the honor to be from the State that has built more wooden vessels than all the rest of this Union besides, I believe. Within thirty miles of my own residence is a town of

only ten thousand people, which is the largest wooden ship-building place on the globe to-day. I know some little of that subject; and while the days of wooden ships are by no means over, while they will be a great and needful auxiliary in the commerce of the world, yet it is manifest and is proved that the great highways of international commerce, such as the North Atlantic, the West India seas, the route from San Francisco to Asia, that from San Francisco to Melbourne, and in various and sundry and divers other directions, will be occupied, and occupied almost to the exclusion of sailing-vessels, by the ocean steamers. The United States can take a great part in that race; they can take a great part in it just whenever they make up their mind that the instrumentality by which England conquered is the one which we must use; they can take it whenever they make up their minds that a mercantile marine and a naval establishment must grow and go together hand in hand, and that the Congress of the United States is derelict in its duty if it passes another naval appropriation bill without accompanying it in some form with some wise and forecasting provision looking also to the upbuilding of the American merchant marine.

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When the honorable Senator from Kentucky desires the steamships that are to do the traffic of this country to be built abroad, he forgets to tell in the interest of the laboring man what is a well-known, widely-recognized fact, that if you build a ship worth \$500,000, there is only \$5,000 of raw material in it, and that \$495,000 is labor. So that the Senator from Kentucky proposes legislation that will take this enormous employment of labor to the other side of the ocean, and expend it in foreign countries. He forgets also that every steamship floating from the country that builds her, in whose ship-yards she is repaired, employs as large a number of men on shore as she does at sea. All this labor the honorable Senator proposes to employ on the other side of the ocean. As a plan for adding to the commercial importance and the absolute monopoly of the British marine, the honorable Senator from Kentucky may be trusted to have

suggested the most wise and certain cause by which that event could be brought about.

The honorable Senator, in the early part of his remarks, said that out in Kentucky, where they raise and run horses, a man would be considered an idiot to put one hundred and fifty pounds on the back of a racehorse against one that was running with only one hundred and ten. Oh, the Senator from Kentucky does not propose to do that at all. He simply proposes to withdraw the American horse from the race.

On the 22d of April, Mr. Blaine offered some resolutions, to the effect that any radical change in our present tariff laws would be inopportune, and that it should be the fixed policy of this Government to so maintain our tariff for revenue as to afford adequate protection to American labor. On the first of May he called up the resolutions and urged their passage. He objected to the appointment of a Tariff Commission, on the ground that "nothing would more effectually unsettle the business of the country than that. That was only having the agitation of the subject, which was disturbing the country by its appearance in Congress, transferred to a commission." In the debate which followed, he entered into a general defense of the policy of protection, and in reply to Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, showed by facts that the boasted tariff of Robert Walker was a beacon of warning to every man who remembered its effect throughout the length and breadth of the manufacturing industries of this country.

In 1878, the result of the elections in many of the Southern States was attributed to violence exercised by the Democrats at the polls. On December 2, Mr. Blaine introduced resolutions instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire if the Constitutional rights of American citizens had been violated in any of the States, and on the 11th he addressed the Senate, denouncing the "frauds and outrages by which some recent

elections had been carried." The question, he argued, was not one of sentiment about the negro, but whether the white voter of the North shall be equal to the white voter of the South. The white voter of the South had exactly twice the power of the white voter of the North, and this power he had acquired in violation of law and justice. Then quoting the Fourteenth Amendment, he showed that in the South

The construction given to this provision is, that before any forfeiture of representation can be enforced the denial or abridgment of suffrage must be the result of a law specifically enacted by the State. Under this construction every negro voter may have his suffrage absolutely denied or fatally abridged by the violence, actual or threatened; of irresponsible mobs, or by frauds and deceptions of State officers, from the Governor down to the last election clerk, and then, unless some State law can be shown that authorizes the denial or abridgment, the State escapes all penalty or peril of reduced representation. This construction may be upheld by the courts, ruling on the letter of the law, "which killeth," but the spirit of justice cries aloud against the evasive and atrocious conclusion that deals out oppression to the innocent and shields the guilty from the legitimate consequences of willful transgression.

The colored citizen is thus most unhappily situated; his right of suffrage is but a hollow mockery; it holds to his ear the word of promise, but breaks it always to his hope, and he ends only in being made the unwilling instrument of increasing the political strength of that party from which he received ever-tightening fetters when he was a slave and contemptuous refusal of civil rights since he was made free.

Nor should the South make the fatal mistake of concluding that injustice to the negro is not also injustice to the white man; nor should it ever be forgotten that for the wrongs of both a remedy will assuredly be found. The war, with all its costly sacrifices, was fought in vain unless equal rights for all classes be established in all the States of the Union; and now, in words which are those of friendship, however differently they may be

accepted, I tell the men of the South here on this floor and beyond this chamber, that even if they could strip the negro of his constitutional rights they can never permanently maintain the inequality of white men in this nation ; they can never make a white man's vote in the South double as powerful in the administration of the Government as a white man's vote in the North.

A highly interesting and vitally important issue in parliamentary proceedings was raised in the session of 1879. The Democratic majority refused to pass appropriation bills without political "riders" attached to them, and thus made an extra session necessary. President Hayes issued the call within three weeks after the adjournment of Congress. Mr. Blaine, in the Senate, and Mr. Garfield, in the House, led the Republican attack. A "rider" attached to the Army Appropriation Bill provided for the repeal of that portion of one of the Revised Statutes which gave to the Government authority to use United States troops to "keep peace at the polls." Mr. Blaine, in a powerful speech, urged that "the cat under the meal" in this attempt was a desire "to get rid of the civil power of the United States in the election of representatives to the Congress of the United States ;" and then coming to the main point at issue, he said :

We are told, too, rather a novel thing, that if we do not take these laws we are not to have the appropriations. I believe it has been announced in both branches of Congress—I suppose on the authority of the Democratic caucus—that if we do not take these bills as they are planned we shall not have any of the appropriations that go with them.

Some gentleman may rise and say : "Do you call it a revolution to put an amendment on an appropriation bill?" Of course not. There have been a great many amendments put on appropriation bills, some mischievous and some harmless ; but I call it the audacity of revolution for any Senator or Representative, or any caucus of Senators or Representatives, to get together and

say: "We will have this legislation or we will stop the great departments of the Government." That is revolutionary. I do not think it will amount to revolution; my opinion is it will not. I think that is a revolution that will not go around; I think that is a revolution which will not revolve; I think that is a revolution whose wheel will not turn; but it is a revolution if persisted in, and if not persisted in it must be backed out from with ignominy. The Democratic party in Congress have put themselves exactly in this position to-day, that if they go forward in the announced programme they march to revolution. I think they will in the end go back in an ignominious retreat. That is my judgment.

A bill having been introduced restricting the number of Chinese passengers on incoming vessels to fifteen, and otherwise restricting Chinese immigration, Mr. Blaine heartily supported the measure in a speech delivered in the Senate, February 14, 1879. We reproduce the main features of his arguments in this speech and in his letter to Wm. Lloyd Garrison :

As I said, the Chinese question is not new. We have had it here very often, and proceeding somewhat to the second branch, I lay down this principle, that, so far as my vote is concerned, I will not admit a man to immigration to this country that I am not willing to place on the basis of a citizen. Let me repeat that. We ought not to admit to this country of universal suffrage the immigration of a great people, great in numbers, whom we ourselves declare are utterly unfit to become citizens.

What do you say on that point? In the Senate of the United States, on the fourth of July, 1870, a patriotic day, we were amending the naturalization laws. We had made all the negroes of the United States voters practically; at least we had said they should not be deprived of suffrage by reason of race or color. We had admitted them all, and we then amended the naturalization laws so that the gentleman from Africa himself could become a citizen of the United States; and an immigrant from Africa to-morrow, from the coast of Guinea or Senegambia, can be naturalized

and made an American citizen. The Senator Trumbull moved to add : "Or persons born in the Chinese empire."

He said : "I have offered this amendment so as to bring the distinct question before the Senate, whether they will vote to naturalize persons from Africa, and vote to refuse to naturalize those who come from China. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment."

The yeas and nays were as follows on the question of whether we would ever admit a Chinaman to become an American citizen. The yeas were: Messrs. Fenton, Fowler, McDonald, Pomeroy, Rice, Robertson, Sprague, Sumner, and Trumbull—9.

The nays were: Messrs. Bayard, Boreman, Chandler, Conkling, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Gilbert, Hamilton of Maryland, Hamlin, Harlan, Howe, McCreery, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Nye, Osborn, Ramsey, Saulsbury, Sawyer, Scott, Stewart, Stockton, Thayer, Thurman, Tipton, Vickers, Warner, Wiley, Williams, and Wilson—31.

My friend from Rhode Island [Mr. Anthony] and the honorable Chairman of the Judiciary Committee [Mr. Edmunds] are put among the absent, but there was a vote of 31 against 9 in a Senate three-fourths Republican, declaring that the Chinaman never ought to be made a citizen. I think that settles the whole question, if that was a correct vote, because you cannot in our system of government as it is to-day, with safety to all, permit a large immigration of people who are not to be made citizens and take part in the government. The Senator from California tells us that already the male adult Chinese in California are more numerous than the white voters. I take him as an authority from his own State, and I should expect him to take my statement about my own State.

It seems to me that if we adopt as a permanent policy the free immigration of those who, by overwhelming votes in both branches of Congress, we say shall forever remain political and social pariahs in a great free government, we have introduced an element that we cannot handle. You cannot stop where we are; you are compelled to do one of two things—either exclude the immigration of Chinese or include them in the great family of citizens.

Well, what about the question of numbers? Did it ever occur to my honorable friend from Ohio that the vast myriads of millions almost, as you might call them, the incalculable hordes in China, are much nearer to the Pacific coast of the United States, in point of money and passage, in point of expense of reaching it, than the people of Kansas? A man in Shanghai or Hong-Kong can be delivered at San Francisco more cheaply than a man in Omaha now. I do not speak of the Atlantic coast, where the population is still more dense; but you may take the Mississippi Valley, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, all the great Commonwealths of that valley, and they are, in point of expense, further off from the Pacific slope than the vast hordes in China and Japan.

I am told by those who are familiar with the commercial affairs of the Pacific side that a person can be sent from any of the great Chinese ports to San Francisco for something over \$30. I suppose in an emigrant train over the Pacific Railroad from Omaha, not to speak of the expense of reaching Omaha, but from that point alone, it would cost \$50 per head, and that would be cheap railroad fare as things go in this country. So that in point of practicability—in point of getting there—the Chinaman to-day has an advantage over an American laborer in any part of the country, except in the case of those who are already on the Pacific coast.

Ought we to exclude them? The question lies in my mind thus: either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start to-day with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the ease of transportation before them, with the inducements to come, while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, and it is entirely inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that great space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific coast. They are themselves to-day establishing steamship lines; they are themselves to-day providing the means of transportation; and when gentlemen say that we admit from all other countries, where do you find the slightest parallel? And in a Republic especially, in any government that maintains itself, the

unit of order and of administration is in the family. The immigrants that come to us from all portions of the British Isles, from Germany, from Norway, from Denmark, from France, from Spain, from Italy, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and in their customs and in their habits as we have it. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogeneous element. The idea of comparing European immigration with an immigration that has no regard to family, that does not recognize the relation of husband and wife, that does not observe the tie of parent and child, that does not have in the slightest degree the ennobling and the civilizing influences of the hearthstone and the fireside. Why, when gentlemen talk loosely about emigration from European states as contrasted with that, they certainly are forgetting history and forgetting themselves.

There has not been from the outset any immigration of Chinese in the sense in which immigration comes to us from Europe. It has all been "under contract" and through agencies, and if not in every respect of the Coolie type, the entire immigration from China has had the worst and most demoralizing features of Coolieism. The Burlingame treaty specially "reprobated any other than an *entirely voluntary* immigration," and yet from the first Chinaman that came, in 1848, to the last one that landed in San Francisco, it is safe to say that not one in one hundred came in an "entirely voluntary" manner. Up to October, 1876, the records of the San Francisco Custom-House show that 233,136 Chinese had arrived in this country, and that 93,273 had returned to China. The immigration since has been quite large, and allowing for returns and deaths, the best statistics I can procure show that about 100,000 Chinese are in California and from 20,000 to 25,000 in the adjacent Pacific States and Territories.

Of this large population fully nine-tenths are adult males. The women have not in all numbered over seven thousand, and, according to all accounts, they are impure and lewd far beyond the Anglo-Saxon conception of impurity and lewdness. One of the best-informed Californians I ever met says that not one score of decent and pure women could ever have been found in the

whole Chinese immigration. It is only in the imagined, rather I hope the unimagined, feculence and foulness of Sodom and Gomorrah that any parallel can be found to the atrocious nastiness of the Chinese quarter of San Francisco. I speak of this from abounding testimony—largely from those who have had personal opportunity to study the subject in its revolting details. In the entire Chinese population of the Pacific coast scarcely one family is to be found; no hearthstone of comfort, no fireside of joy; no father nor mother, nor brother nor sister; no child reared by parents; no domestic and ennobling influences; no ties of affection. The relation of wife is degraded beyond all description, the females holding and dishonoring that sacred name being sold and transferred from one man to another, without shame and without fear; one woman being at the same time the wife to several men. Many of these women came to San Francisco under written contracts for prostitution, openly and shamelessly entered into. I have myself read the translation of some of these abominable documents. If as a nation we have the right to keep out infectious diseases, if we have the right to exclude the criminal classes from coming to us, we surely possess the right to exclude that immigration which reeks with impurity, and which cannot come to us without plenteously sowing the seeds of moral and physical disease, destitution, and death.

The Chinese immigration to California began with the American immigration in 1848. The two races have been side by side for more than thirty years, nearly an entire generation, and not one step toward assimilation has been taken. The Chinese occupy their own peculiar quarter in the city, adhere to their own dress, speak their own language, worship in their own heathen temples, and, inside the municipal law and independent of it, administer a code among themselves, even pronouncing the death penalty, and executing it in criminal secrecy. If this were for a year only, or for two, or five, or even ten years, it might be claimed that more time was needed for domestication and assimilation; but this has been going on for an entire generation, and the Chinaman to-day approaches no nearer to our civilization than he did when the Golden Gate first received him. In sworn

testimony before an investigating committee of Congress, Dr. Mears, the health officer of San Francisco, described as "a careful and learned man," testified that the condition of the Chinese quarter is "horrible, inconceivably horrible!"

He stated that the Chinese as a rule "live in large tenement-houses, large numbers crowded into individual rooms, without proper ventilation, with bad drainage, and underground, with a great deal of filth, the odors from which are horrible." He described their "mode of taking a room ten feet high and putting a flooring half-way to the ceiling, both floors being crowded at night with sleepers. In these crowded dens cases of small-pox were concealed from the police." "They live underground in bunks. The topography of that portion of Chinadom is such that you enter a house sometimes and think that it is a one-story house, and you will find two or three stories down below on the side of the hill, where they live in great filth." Another close and accurate observer, a resident of California, says: "The only wonder is that desolating pestilences have not ensued. Small-pox has often been epidemic, and could always be traced to Chinese origin. The Chinese quarter was once occupied by shops, churches, and dwellings of Americans. Now these are as thoroughly Mongolian as any part of Canton. All other races flee from the contact." Dr. Mears further testified and gave many revolting details in proof that the Chinese "are cruel and indifferent to their sick." He described cases of Chinese lepers at the city hospital: "Their feet dropped off by dry gangrene and their hands were wasted and attenuated. Their finger-nails dropped off." He said the Chinese were gradually working eastward, and would by-and-by crowd into Eastern cities, where the conditions under which they live in San Francisco would produce, in the absence of its climatic advantages, destructive pestilence." Perhaps a Chinese quarter in Boston, with forty thousand Mongolians located somewhere between the south end and the north end of the city and separating the two would give Mr. Garrison some new views as to the power and right of a nation to exclude moral and physical pestilence from its borders. In San Francisco there is no hot weather, the thermometer rarely rising

above 65°. One of the most intelligent physicians in the United States says that the Chinese quarter of San Francisco transferred to Saint Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, or any Eastern city, would in a hot summer breed a plague equal to the "black death" that is now alarming the civilized world. When Mr. Garrison says that the immigration of Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Scandinavians, must be put on the same footing as the Chinese Coolies, he confounds all distinctions, and, of course without intending it, libels almost the entire white population whose blood is inherited from the races he names. All the immigration from Europe to-day assimilates at once with its own blood on this soil, and to place the Chinese Coolies on the same footing is to shut one's eyes to all the instincts of human nature and all the teachings of history.

Is it not inevitable that a class of men living in this degraded and filthy condition, and on the poorest of food, can work for less than the American laborer is entitled to receive for his daily toil. Put the two classes of labor side by side, and the cheap servile labor pulls down the more manly toil to its level. The free white laborer never could compete with slave labor of the South. In the Chinaman the white laborer finds only another form of servile competition—in some aspects more revolting and corrupting than African slavery. Whoever contends for the unrestricted immigration of Chinese Coolies contends for that system of toil which blights the prospects of the white laborer—dooming him to starvation wages, killing his ambition by rendering his struggle hopeless, and ending in a plodding and pitiless poverty. Nor is it a truthful answer to say that this danger is remote. Remote it may be for Mr. Garrison, for Boston, and for New England, but it is instant and pressing on the Pacific slope. Already the Chinese male adults on that coast are well-nigh as numerous as the white voters of California, and it is conceded that a Chinese emigrant can be placed in San Francisco for one-half the amount required to transport a man from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific coast, and for one-third what it requires for a New Yorker or a New Englander to reach California or Oregon. The late Caleb Cushing, who had carefully

studied the Chinese question, ever since his mission to Peking in 1842, maintained that, unless resisted by the United States, the first general famine in China would be followed by an emigration to California that would swamp the white race. I observe that a New England newspaper—I specially regret that such ignorance should be shown in New England—says it is only “a strip” on the Pacific that the Chinaman seeks for a home. The Chinese are already scattered in three States and two adjacent Territories, whose area is larger than the original Thirteen Colonies. California alone is larger than New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and is capable of maintaining a vast population of Anglo-Saxon freemen, if we do not surrender it to Chinese Coolies.

Before the same committee of investigation from whose report I have already quoted, Mr. T. W. Jackson, a man of high character, who had traveled extensively in the East, testified that his strong belief was “that if the Chinese felt that they were safe and had a firm footing in California, they would come in enormous numbers, because the population of China is practically inexhaustible.” Such, indeed, is the unbroken testimony of all who are entitled to express an opinion. The decision of Congress on this matter, therefore, becomes of the very last importance. Had it been in favor of Chinese immigration, with the encouragement and protection which that would have implied, it requires no vivid imagination to foresee that the great slope between the Sierras and the Pacific would become the emigrating ground for the Chinese empire. So that I do not at all exaggerate when I say that on the adoption or rejection of the policy passed upon by Congress hangs the fate of the Pacific slope—whether its labor shall be that of American freemen or servile Mongolians. If Mr. Garrison thinks the interests of his own countrymen, his own government, and, in a still larger sense, the interests of humanity and civilization, will be promoted by giving up the Pacific to Mongolian labor, I beg respectfully but firmly to differ from him. There is no ground on which we are bound to receive them to our own detriment. Charity is the first of Christian graces. But Mr. Garrison would not feel obliged to receive into his family a person that would physically contami-

nate or morally corrupt his children. As with a family, so with a nation : the same instinct of self-preservation exists, the same right to prefer the interest of our own people, the same duty to exclude that which is corrupting and dangerous to the Republic!

The outcry that we are violating our treaty obligations is without any foundation. The article on emigration in the treaty has not been observed by China for a single hour since it was made. All the testimony taken on the subject—and it has been full and copious—shows conclusively that the entire emigration was “under contract” ; that the Coolies had been gathered together for export, and gathered as agents in our Western States would gather live-stock for shipment. A very competent witness in California, speaking to this point, says :

“On the arrival of the Chinese in California they are consigned like hogs to the different Chinese companies, their contracts are viséd, and the Coolie commences to pay to the companies fees to insure care if he is taken sick and his return home dead or alive. His return is prevented until after his contract has been entirely fulfilled. If he breaks his contract the spies of the six companies hunt him to prevent his returning to China, by arrangement with the steamship company or their agents in the steamship employ to prevent his getting a ticket. The agents of the steamship companies testified to this same fact. If a ticket is obtained for him by others he is forcibly stopped on the day of sailing by employees of the six companies, called ‘high-binders,’ who can always be seen guarding the Coolies.”

Mr. Joseph J. Ray, a Philadelphia merchant, long resident in China, and a close observer of its emigration, says “that $\frac{222}{1000}$ of the Chinese who have reached our shores were not free agents in their coming. Files of the Hong-Kong newspapers from 1861 would supply information regarding the ‘barracoons’ at that port, and when the system had become too great a scandal, their removal to Macao (a Portuguese colony, forty miles distant), in which ‘barracoons’ the Chinese, in every sense prisoners, were retained until their shipment to San Francisco, Callao, Havana, etc. These, called by courtesy emigrants, were collected from within a radius of two or three hundred miles from Canton, and con-

sisted of the abjectly poor, who, willing or not, were sold to obtain food for their families, or for gambling debts (the Chinese, as you are aware, being inveterate gamblers), or the scapegraces of the country, fleeing to avoid punishment."

It is, of course, a mere misuse of terms to call this an "entirely voluntary emigration," and yet none other was permissible under the Burlingame treaty. Our Government would be clearly justified in disregarding the treaty on the single ground that the Chinese Government had never respected its provisions. But without any reference to that, our Government possesses the right to abrogate the treaty if it judges that its continuance is "pernicious to the State." Indeed, the two pending propositions in the Senate differed not in regard to our own right to abrogate the treaty, but simply as to whether we should do it in July, 1879, by the exercise of our power without further notice to China, or whether we should do it in January, 1880, after notifying China that we had made up our minds to do it. Nearly a year ago Congress by joint resolution expressed its discontent with the existing treaty, and thus clearly gave notice to the civilized world—if notice were needful—of the desire and intention of our people. In the late action of Congress the opposing proposition—moved as a substitute for the bill to which I gave my support—requested the President to notify the Emperor of China that Chinese immigration is "unsatisfactory and pernicious," and in effect if he would not modify the treaty as we desired, then the President should notify the emperor that after January 1, 1880, the United States will "treat the obnoxious stipulations as at an end." Both propositions—the bill that we passed and the substitute that we rejected—assumed alike the full right to abrogate the treaty. Whether it were better to abrogate it after last year's joint resolution, or to inform the Emperor of China directly that if he would not consent to the change "we would make it anyhow," must be relegated for decision to the schools of taste and etiquette. The first proposition resting on our clear constitutional power seemed to me a better mode of proceeding than to ask the Emperor of China to consent to a modification, and informing him

at the same time that, whether he consented or not, we would on next New Year's day treat "the obnoxious stipulations as at an end." As to the power of Congress to do just what has been done, no one will entertain a doubt who examines the whole question. An admirable summary of the right and power is found in an opinion delivered by that eminent jurist, Benjamin R. Curtis, when he was a judge of the United States Supreme Court. Judge Curtis said :

"It cannot be admitted that the only method of escape from a treaty is by the consent of the other party to it or a declaration of war. To refuse to execute a treaty for reasons which approve themselves to the conscientious judgment of a nation is a matter of the utmost gravity ; *but the power to do so is a prerogative of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting its independence.* That the people of the United States have deprived their government of this power I do not believe. That it must reside somewhere, and be applicable *to all cases*, I am convinced, *and I feel no doubt that it belongs to Congress.*"

A great deal has been said about the danger to our trade if China should resort to some form of retaliation. The natural and pertinent retaliation is to restrict American immigration to China. Against that we will enter no protest, and should have no right to do so. The talk about China closing her ports to our trade is made only by those who do not understand the question. Last year the total amount of our exports to all Chinese ports outside of Hong-Kong was about \$692,000. I have called Hong-Kong a Chinese port, but every child knows that it is under British control, and if we were at war with China to-day Hong-Kong would be as open to us as Liverpool. To speak of China punishing us by suspending trade is only the suggestion of dense ignorance. We pay China an immense balance in coin, and probably we always shall do it. But if the trade question had the importance which some have erroneously attributed to it, I would not seek its continuance by permitting a vicious immigration of Chinese Coolies. The Bristol merchants cried out that commerce would be ruined if England persisted in destroying the slave trade. But history does not

record that England sacrificed her honor by yielding to the cry.

The enlightened religious sentiment of the Pacific coast views with profound alarm the tendency and effect of unrestricted Chinese immigration. The "pastors and delegates of the Congregational churches of California" a year since expressed their "conviction" that "the Burlingame treaty ought to be so modified *by the General Government* as to restrict Chinese immigration." Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, editor of the oldest religious paper on the Pacific coast, spoke thus in an official address :

"Moreover, wealthy English and American companies have organized great money-making plans for bringing millions—it is true—even millions—of these Chinese into our State, and into all parts of the Union; and they have sent out emissaries into China to induce the people, by every true and false story, to migrate here. Already *two hundred and fifty thousand* have come, of whom *one hundred thousand* remain.

"The tendency of all this is tremendously toward evil; toward vice and abomination; toward all opposed to the true spirit of Americanism, and is very dangerous to our morality, to our stability, and to our success as a people and a nation. Millions more of these Chinese must come if not prevented by any legal, or moral, or mobocratic restraint, increasing incalculably by numbers the evils already existing, while a spirit of race prejudices and claniship jealousies and a conflict of interests must be developed, portending possible evil beyond all description."

In regard to the process of converting and Christianizing this people, a missionary who has been in the field since 1849 testifies that not one in a thousand has even nominally professed a change from heathenism, and that of this small number nearly one half had been taught in missionary schools in China. The same missionary says: "As they come in still larger numbers they will more effectually support each other in their national peculiarities and vices, become still more confirmed in heathen immoralities, with an influence in every respect incalculably bad." Under

what possible sense of duty any American can feel that he promotes Christianity by the process of handing California over to heathenism is more than I am able to discover.

I have heard a good deal about their cheap labor. I do not myself believe in cheap labor. I do not believe cheap labor should be an object of legislation, and it will not be in a republic. You cannot have the wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal legislate for cheap labor. I undertake to repeat that. I say that you cannot have the wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal legislate in what is called the interest of cheap labor. Labor should not be cheap, and it should not be dear; it should have its share, and it will have its share. There is not a laborer on the Pacific coast to-day, I say that to my honorable colleague—whose whole life has been consistent and uniform in defense and advocacy of the interests of the laboring-classes—there is not a laboring-man on the Pacific coast to-day who does not feel wounded and grieved and crushed by the competition that comes from this source. Then the answer is: "Well, are not American laborers equal to Chinese laborers?" I answer that question by asking another. Were not free white laborers equal to African slaves in the South? When you tell me that the Chinaman driving out the free American laborer only proves the superiority of the Chinaman, I ask you, Did the African slave labor driving out the free white labor from the South prove the superiority of slave labor? The conditions are not unlike; the parallel is not complete, and yet it is a parallel. It is servile labor; it is not free labor such as we intend to develop and encourage and build up in this country. It is labor that comes here under a mortgage. It is labor that comes here to subsist on what the American laborer cannot subsist on. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beer, alongside of a man who can live on rice. It cannot be done. In all such conflicts and in all such struggles the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard. Slave labor degraded free labor; it took out its respectability; it put an odious cast upon it. It

throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States; and a worse than slave labor will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the United States. We can choose here to-day whether our legislation shall be in the interest of the American free-laborer or for the servile laborer from China.

I feel and know that I am pleading the cause of the free American laborer and of his children and of his children's children. It has been well said that it is the cause of "the house against the hovel; of the comforts of the freeman against the squalor of the slave." It has been charged that my position would arraign labor-saving machinery and condemn it. This answer is not only superficial; it is also absurd. Labor-saving machinery has multiplied the power to pay, has developed new wants, and has continually enlarged the area of labor and constantly advanced the wages of the laborer. But servile toil has always dragged free labor to its lowest level, and has stripped it of one muniment after another until it was helpless and hopeless. Whenever that condition comes to the free laborer of America, the Republic of equal rights is gone, and we shall live under the worst of oligarchies—that of mere wealth, whose profit only measures the wretchedness of the unpaid toilsmen that produce it.

From National affairs we turn for a moment to look at local troubles in his own State of Maine. In 1879, a united party of Democrats and Greenbackers became dominant in the State of Maine; the election in the next year resulted in a Republican triumph. Governor Garcelon and his Council, however, disputed the returns and "counted out" a number of Republican members of the Legislature on technical errors. In December, 1879, and January, 1880, the excitement was at its highest pitch, threats of violence were freely bandied about, but by prompt, energetic, and prudent action, under the advice of Mr. Blaine, the peaceful inauguration of the lawfully chosen officers was secured.

Wednesday, June 2, 1880, the Republican National Convention began its sessions at Chicago. There were three men prominently mentioned for the nomination—General Grant, James G. Blaine, and John Sherman. Three United States Senators led the Grant forces—Roscoe Conkling of New York, J. D. Cameron of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan of Illinois. In the preliminary contests over the unit rule, which was finally abrogated, in spite of earnest opposition by the Grant men, it became evident to all that the issue must be Grant against the field, and so it proved. The nominations were made on Saturday night. Mr. Conkling named the hero of many battles in an eloquent speech; twenty minutes hardly sufficing to contain the cheering at its close. James F. Joy, of Michigan, nominated Mr. Blaine; he was followed by Mr. Frye, of Maine, in a speech which held the interested attention of the vast assemblage, and was greeted with merited applause. He said: "I once saw a storm at sea in the night-time; an old ship battling for its life with the fury of the tempest; darkness everywhere; the winds raging and howling; the huge waves beating on the sides of the ship, and making her shiver from stem to stern. The lightning was flashing, the thunders rolling; there was danger everywhere. I saw at the helm a bold, courageous, immovable, commanding man. In the tempest, calm; in the commotion, quiet; in the danger, hopeful. I saw him take the old ship and bring her into her harbor, into still waters, into safety. That man was a hero. I saw the good old ship of State, the State of Maine, within the last year, fighting her way through the same waves, against the dangers. She was freighted with all that is precious in the principles of our Republic; with the rights of the American citizenship, with all that is guaranteed to the American citizen by our Constitution. The eyes of the whole nation were on her, and intense anxiety filled every American heart lest

the grand old ship, the 'State of Maine,' might go down beneath the waves forever, carrying her precious freight with her. But there was a man at the helm, calm, deliberate, commanding, sagacious; he made even the foolish man wise; courageous, he inspired the timid with courage; hopeful, he gave heart to the dismayed, and he brought that good old ship safely into harbor, into safety; and she floats to-day greater, purer, stronger for her baptism of danger. That man, too, was heroic, and his name was James G. Blaine."

The balloting began on Monday, June 7. Eighteen ballots were taken at the first session, Grant's vote ranging from 303 to 309, Blaine's from 280 to 285. The evening brought little change; ten ballots left the relative strength of the candidates substantially as it had been on the first ballot. On the thirty-first ballot, taken Tuesday afternoon, Blaine's vote fell from 275 to 257, and Garfield's rose from 17 to 50; no wavering in the Grant column. The 36th ballot gave Garfield 399 votes and the nomination, Grant 306, Blaine 42. Twice defeated, but not dead yet. Eighteen eighty-four is coming. Blaine men had nominated Garfield; Blaine men worked hard for his election. Mr. Blaine himself took the stump, and meeting everywhere with the old enthusiasm, gave himself without reserve to the service of the man whom he had helped to nominate. As was expected, when Mr. Garfield made up his Cabinet, the first place was assigned to James Gillespie Blaine.

CHAPTER XI.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. Blaine and Mr. Garfield meet.—Washington Secretaryship tendered and accepted.—Short term of office.—The Monroe Doctrine revived.—The Neutrality question.—The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.—Mr. Blaine's argument for its abrogation.—Two principal objects of his Foreign Policy.—Intervention in South America.—Instructions to General Hurlbut.—Special envoys.—Their recall and the survival of the Foreign Policy.—The Peace Congress.—The Stalwart Half-Breed quarrel.—Assassination of Garfield.—Mr. Blaine's Memorial Oration.—“Twenty Years of Congress.”

ON the 26th day of November, 1880, President-elect Garfield and Senator Blaine met by appointment in the City of Washington. They were closeted for two hours without interruption from a single person, and when they parted the State Department in the new Cabinet had been offered to Mr. Blaine. “I was hardly prepared for it,” he said; “I do not know how to make answer. I would like time for reflection and consultation.”

Later he said to his confidential friends: “If the sentiment of the country indorses the selection of General Garfield, I will accept the office, otherwise not.” The report of the offer found its way into the newspapers, and was favorably received by the public. He waited three weeks, and then accepted in the following letter:

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1880.

MY DEAR GARFIELD: Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred

to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor, and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to make up my mind definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the Government.

I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy, and perhaps rival aspiration.

In our new relation I shall give all that I am, and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your Administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events, and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vainglory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great National Conventions.

I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support, but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims, and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend. Always faithfully yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

From March 5, 1881, to December 19, of the same year, a little more than nine months, Mr. Blaine kept his post. In any fair estimate of his career, this fact must not be forgotten. He was in office just long enough to indicate the drift of his foreign policy without being able to give it a fair trial. Two months of his brief term were spent at the bedside of a dying President, and three months under the Administration of Mr. Arthur, in whose Cabinet he remained only until his successor could be chosen. The main lines of his policy should be briefly indicated before we enter upon a particular examination of the acts to which it led. Compactly stated, it was the Monroe policy revived and emphasized. President Monroe, in a message to Congress, in 1823, declared that any attempt on the part of European powers to “extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, would be regarded by the United States as dangerous to our peace and safety.” President Garfield, in his inaugural address, referring to the Panama Canal

project by De Lesseps, affirmed the same doctrine, holding that it was "the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the Isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our National interests."

Taken in its simplest form, this traditional American policy is based upon the plain truth that American soil is for American institutions. Foreign growths, like the barren fig-tree, cumber the ground. European trees may strike their roots and spread their branches toward Asia. We prefer not to have them growing on our side of the water.

If we understand the foreign policy of the Garfield Administration, in one of its controlling principles it was American management of American affairs. It aimed to be conservative without sacrifice, firm and vigorous without bravado, wise with American wisdom. Very early in the Garfield Administration it became necessary for the State Department to show its hand. The Columbian Republic had applied to the European powers to join in guaranteeing the neutrality of the Panama Canal. Upon hearing that such a proposal had been made, Secretary Blaine reminded the European governments that the United States had acquired exclusive rights with the country through which the canal was to pass. This rendered the prior guarantee of the United States indispensable, and the powers were informed that any foreign guarantee would be regarded as an unfriendly act. One thing, however, seemed to stand in the way of an American protectorate. The United States had, in 1850, concluded with Great Britain the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, by the terms of which this Government was bound not to fight in the Isthmus, nor to fortify any waterway that might be constructed through it. Plainly the United States could not move freely in the Isthmus, nor exert any control whatever over the canal, while this Treaty re-

mained in force. Secretary Blaine, therefore, proposed the abrogation of those portions of it which directly conflicted with the provisions of the compact with the Columbian Republic.

The treaty—said Mr. Blaine, in an elaborate State paper—commands this government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect the interests in connection with the interoceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy.

The convention was made more than thirty years ago, under exceptional and extraordinary conditions, which have long since ceased to exist—conditions which at best were temporary in their nature, and which can never be reproduced.

The development of the Pacific coast places responsibility upon our Government which it cannot meet, and not control the canal now building, and just as England controls the Suez Canal.

England requires and sustains an immense navy, for which we have no use, and might at any time seize the canal, and make it impossible for us to marshal a squadron in Pacific waters, without a perilous voyage ourselves around the Horn.

The two principal objects of the foreign policy of the Garfield Administration, as stated by Mr. Blaine, were :

First, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

The second object could not be attained until the first had been accomplished. For three years there had been war between Chili, Peru, and Bolivia. The friendly offices of the United States had barely averted a conflict between Chili and the Argentine Republic. Mexico had been on the verge of open hostilities with Guatemala. Brazil had threatened Uru-

guay. Wars and rumors of wars were the rule among the Spanish-American Republics. Regarding peace as essential to commerce and as the only solid basis of international prosperity, the new Administration directed its first efforts to secure a cessation of hostilities. The war between Chili and Peru virtually ended with the capture of Lima, January 17, 1881, but Pierola, the President of the Peruvian Republic, had rallied a few followers in the north, and Calderon, assuming a provisional Presidency, had called a Congress in the vicinity of Lima, so that the struggle was indefinitely prolonged. To bring about a proper adjustment of the differences between the three belligerent parties was the difficult task set before the State Department.

The following letter written by Secretary Blaine to General S. A. Hurlbut, United States Minister to Peru, indicates the purpose and the extent of the intervention which the State Department proposed to make in the furtherance of peace :

The deplorable condition of Peru, the disorganization of its government, and the absence of precise and trustworthy information as to the state of affairs now existing in that unhappy country, render it impossible to give you instructions as full and definite as I would desire.

Judging from the most recent dispatches from our ministers, you will probably find on the part of the Chilian authorities in possession of Peru a willingness to facilitate the establishment of the provisional government which has been attempted by Senor Calderon. If so you will do all you properly can to encourage the Peruvians to accept any reasonable conditions and limitations with which this concession may be accompanied. It is vitally important to Peru, that she be allowed to resume the functions of a native and orderly government, both for the purposes of internal administration and the negotiation of peace. To obtain this end it would be far better to accept conditions which may be hard and unwelcome, than by demanding too much to force the con-

tinuance of the military control of Chili. It is hoped that you will be able, in your necessary association with the Chilian authorities, to impress upon them that the more liberal and considerate their policy, the surer it will be to obtain a lasting and satisfactory settlement. The Peruvians cannot but be aware of the sympathy and interest of the people and Government of the United States, and will, I feel confident, be prepared to give to your representations the consideration to which the friendly anxiety of this Government entitles them.

The United States cannot refuse to recognize the rights which the Chilian government has acquired by the successes of the war, and it may be that a cession of territory will be the necessary price to be paid for peace.

It is the desire of the United States to act in a spirit of the sincerest friendship to the three Republics, and to use its influence solely in the interests of an honorable and lasting peace.

These instructions were for some reason misunderstood or misapplied, so that, instead of furthering the interests of peace, the American Minister made matters worse. It was therefore determined to send two envoys, specially commissioned with full powers and accredited to the belligerent nations, in order if possible to secure a peaceful settlement of their quarrels. William Henry Trescott and Walker G. Blaine were appointed to perform this delicate duty, but before they had reached Chili Mr. Blaine resigned, and his successor hastily reversed his policy, and when the envoys arrived they were chagrined and humiliated to find themselves discredited and their occupation gone. Mr. Trescott, in a letter written under date July 17, 1882, said, respecting the famous Cochet and Landreau claims, that Mr. Blaine absolutely rejected the first, and instructed General Hurlbut to ask, if the proper time for such request should come, that Landreau might be heard before a Peruvian tribunal in support of his claim. This claim, it will be remembered, was for the value of certain guano beds

which Landreau professed to have discovered. Mr. Trescott further said that

General Hurlbut, although approving the justice of Landreau's claim in his dispatch of September 14, 1881, never brought it in any way to the notice of the Peruvian Government. During my mission in South America, I never referred to it, so that, in point of fact, during your Secretaryship the Landreau claim was never mentioned by Ministers of the United States, either to the Chilian or Peruvian Government. It could not, therefore, have affected the then pending diplomatic questions in the remotest degree.

In order to secure the advantages of a permanent peace between the countries of North and South America—to prevent war, instead of by friendly intervention afterwards ameliorating its effects, it was resolved to call a Peace Congress. Mr. Blaine in his dispatch, Nov. 29, 1881, wrote :

For some years past a growing disposition has been manifested by certain States of Central and South America to refer disputes affecting grave questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country is in a large measure looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator. The just and impartial counsel of the President in such cases has never been withheld, and his efforts have been rewarded by the prevention of sanguinary strife or angry contention between peoples whom we regard as brethren.

The existence of this growing tendency convinces the President that the time is ripe for a proposal that shall enlist the good-will and active co-operation of all the States of the Western hemisphere, both North and South, in the interest of humanity, and for the commonweal of nations. He conceives that none of the Governments of America can be less alive than our own to the dangers and horrors of a state of war, and especially of war between kinsmen. He is sure that none of the chiefs of govern-

ments on the continent can be less sensitive than he is to the sacred duty of making every endeavor to do away with the chances of fratricidal strife. And he looks with hopeful confidence to such active assistance from them as will serve to show the broadness of our common humanity, and the strength of the ties which bind us all together as a great and harmonious system of American commonwealths.

Impressed by these views, the President extends to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general Congress to be held in the City of Washington on the twenty-fourth day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the Congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object ; that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife ; that it shall regard the burdensome and far-reaching consequences of such struggles, the legacies of exhausted finances, of oppressive debts, of onerous taxation, of ruined cities, of paralyzed industries, of devastated fields, of ruthless conscription, of the slaughter of men, of the grief of the widow and the orphan, of embittered resentments that long survive those who provoke them and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.

The project was cordially approved in South America, and some of the countries signified their willingness to attend and participate in the deliberation of the Congress, but within six weeks after their issue the invitations were withdrawn. Mr. Blaine, in a letter published after his retirement from the Cabinet, thus vindicates the abandoned plan and the general policy of intervention :

The foreign policy of President Garfield's Administration had two principal objects in view : First, to bring about peace and

prevent future wars in North and South America ; second, to cultivate such friendly, commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States, by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. It would be idle to attempt the development and enlargement of our trade with the countries of North and South America if that trade were liable at any unforeseen moment to be violently interrupted by such wars as that which for three years has engrossed and almost engulfed Chili, Peru, and Bolivia ; as that which was barely averted by the friendly offices of the United States between Chili and the Argentine Republic ; as that which has been postponed by the same good offices, but not decisively abandoned, between Mexico and Guatemala ; as that which is threatened between Brazil and Uruguay ; as that which is even now foreshadowed between Brazil and the Argentine States. Peace is essential to commerce, is the very life of honest trade, is the solid basis of international prosperity ; and yet there is no part of the world where a resort to arms is so prompt as in the Spanish-American Republics. Those Republics have grown out of the old colonial divisions, formed from capricious grants to favorites by royal charter, and their boundaries are in many cases not clearly defined, and consequently afford the basis of continual disputes, breaking forth too often in open war. To induce the Spanish American States to adopt some peaceful mode of adjusting their frequently recurring contentions was regarded by the late President as one of the most honorable and useful ends to which the diplomacy of the United States could contribute—useful especially to those States by securing permanent peace within all their borders, and useful to our own country by affording a coveted opportunity for extending its commerce and securing enlarged fields for our products and manufactures.

Instead of friendly intervention here and there, patching up a treaty between two countries to-day, securing a truce between two others to-morrow, it was apparent to the President that a

more comprehensive plan should be adopted if war was to cease in the Western hemisphere. It was evident that certain European powers had in the past been interested in promoting strife between the Spanish-American countries, and might be so interested in the future, while the interest of the United States was wholly and always on the side of peace with all our American neighbors, and peace between them all.

It was therefore the President's belief, that mere incidental and partial adjustments failed to attain the desired end, and that a common agreement of peace, permanent in its character and continental in its extent, should if possible be secured. To effect this end it had been resolved, before the fatal shot of July 2, to invite all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington. The date to be assigned was the fifteenth of March, 1882, and the invitations would have been issued directly after the New England tour, which the President was not permitted to make. Nearly six months later, on the twenty-second of November, President Garfield's successor issued the invitations for the Peace Congress in the same spirit and scope, and with the same limitations and restrictions that had been originally designed.

As soon as the project was understood in South America it received a most cordial approval, and some of the countries, not following the leisurely routine of diplomatic correspondence, made haste to accept the invitation. There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the Congress; but in six weeks after the invitations had gone to the several countries, President Arthur caused them to be recalled, or at least suspended. The subject was afterwards referred to Congress, in a special message, in which the President ably vindicated his constitutional right to assemble the Peace Congress, but expressed a desire that the legislative department of the Government should give an opinion upon the expediency of the step before the Congress should be allowed to convene. Meanwhile the nations that received the invitations were in an embarrassing situation; for after they were asked by the President to come, they found that

the matter had been considered and referred to another department of the Government. This change was universally accepted as a practical though indirect abandonment of the project, for it was not from the first probable that Congress would take any action whatever upon the subject. The good-will and welcome of the invitation would be destroyed by a long debate in the Senate and House, in which the question would necessarily become intermixed with personal and party politics, and the project would be ultimately wrecked from the same cause and by the same process that destroyed the usefulness of the Panama Congress, more than fifty years ago, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. The time of Congressional action would have been after the Peace Conference had closed its labors. The Conference could not agree upon anything that would be binding upon the United States, unless assented to as a treaty by the Senate, or enacted into a law by both branches. The assembling of the Peace Conference, as President Arthur so well demonstrated, was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the Conference—which would not have exceeded ten thousand dollars—could not, by reason of propriety, have been refused by Congress. If it had been refused, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

The Spanish-American States are in special need of the help which the Peace Congress would afford them. They require external pressure to keep them from war. When at war they require external pressure to bring them to peace. The moral influence upon the Spanish-American people of such an international assembly as the Peace Congress, called by the invitation and meeting under the auspices of the United States, would have proved beneficent and far-reaching. It would have raised the standard of their civilization. It would have turned their attention to the things of peace; and the continent, whose undeveloped wealth amazed Humboldt, might have had a new life given to it, a new and splendid career opened to its inhabitants.

Such friendly interventions as the proposed Peace Congress, and as the attempt to restore peace between Chili and Peru, fall

within the line of both duty and interest on the part of the United States, nations, like individuals, often require the aid of a common friend to restore relations of amity. Peru and Chili are in deplorable need of a wise and powerful mediator. Though exhausted by war, they are unable to make peace, and, unless they shall be aided by the intervention of a friend, political anarchy and social disorder will come to the conquered, and evils scarcely less serious to the conqueror. Our own Government cannot take the ground that it will not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries, unless at the same time it freely concedes to European governments the rights of such intervention, and thus consents to a practical destruction of the Monroe Doctrine and an unlimited increase of European monarchical influence on this continent. The late special envoy to Peru and Chili, Mr. Trescott, gives it as his deliberate and published conclusion that if the instructions under which he set out upon his mission had not been revoked, peace between those angry belligerents would have been established as the result of his labors—necessarily to the great benefit of the United States.

If our Government does not resume its efforts to secure peace in South America, some European government will be forced to perform that friendly office. The United States cannot play between nations the part of the dog in the manger. We must perform the duty of humane intervention ourselves, or give way to foreign governments that are willing to accept the responsibility of the great trust, and secure the enhanced influence and numberless advantages resulting from such a philanthropic and beneficent course.

A most significant and important result would have followed the assembling of the Peace Congress. A friendship and an intimacy would have been established between the States of North and South America, which would have demanded and enforced a closer commercial connection. A movement in the near future, as the legitimate outgrowth of assured peace, would, in all probability, have been a great commercial conference at the city of Mexico or Rio Janeiro, whose deliberations would be directed to a better system of trade on the two continents.

To such a conference the Dominion of Canada could properly be asked to send representatives, as that government is allowed by Great Britain a very large liberty in regulating its commercial relations. In the Peace Congress, to be composed of independent governments, the Dominion could not have taken any part, and was consequently not invited. From this trade conference of the two continents the United States could hardly have failed to gain great advantages. At present the commercial relations of this country with the Spanish-American countries, both continental and insular, are unsatisfactory and unprofitable; indeed, those relations are absolutely oppressive to the financial interests of the Government and people of the United States. In our current exchanges it requires about \$120,000,000 to pay the balance which Spanish America brings against us every year. This amount is fifty per cent. more than the average annual product of the gold and silver mines of the United States during the past five years. This vast sum does not, of course, go to Spanish America in coin, but it goes across the ocean in coin or its equivalent, to pay European countries for manufactured articles which they furnish to Spanish America—a large proportion of which should be furnished by the manufacturers of the United States.

At this point of the argument the free-trader appears and declares that our protective tariff destroys our power of competition with European countries, and that if we will abolish protection we shall soon have South American trade. The answer is not sufficient, for to-day there are many articles which we can send to South America and sell as cheaply as European manufacturers can furnish them. It is idle, of course, to make this statement to the genuine apostle of free trade and the implacable enemy of protection, for the great postulate of his argument, the foundation of his creed, is that nothing can be made as cheaply in America as in Europe. Nevertheless, facts are stubborn, and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by airy figures of speech. The truth remains that the coarser descriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draft animals, agricultural

implements of all kinds, doors, sashes and blinds, locks, bolts and hinges, silver-ware, plated-ware, wooden-ware, ordinary papers and paper hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window glass and glass-ware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosenes, white lead, lead pipe and articles in which lead is a chief component, can be and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any other part of the world. The list of such articles might be lengthened by the addition of those classed as "notions," but enough only are given to show that this country would, with proper commercial arrangements, export much more largely than it now does to Spanish America.

In the trade relations of the world it does not follow that mere ability to produce as cheaply as another nation insures a division of an established market, or, indeed, any participation in it. France manufactures many articles as cheaply as England—some articles at even less cost. Portugal lies nearer to France than to England, and the expense of transporting the French fabric to the Portuguese market is therefore less than the transportation of the English fabric. And yet Great Britain has almost a monopoly in the trade of Portugal. The same condition applies, though in a less degree, in the trade of Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, which England holds to a much greater extent than any of the other European nations that are able to produce the same fabric as cheaply. If it be said in answer that England has special trade relations by treaty with Portugal, and special obligations binding the other countries, the ready answer is that she has no more favorable position with regard to those countries than can be readily and easily acquired by the United States with respect to all the countries of America. That end will be reached whenever the United States desires it and wills it, and is ready to take the steps necessary to secure it.

At present the trade with Spanish America runs so strongly in channels adverse to us that, besides our inability to furnish manufactured articles, we do not get the profit on our own raw products that are shipped there. Our petroleum reaches most of the Spanish-American ports after twice crossing the Atlantic, paying often a better profit to the European middle-man who handles it

than it does to the producer of the oil in the northwestern counties of Pennsylvania. Flour and pork from the West reach Cuba by way of Spain, and though we buy and consume ninety per cent. of the total products of Cuba, almost that proportion of her purchases are made in Europe—made, of course, with money furnished directly from our pockets.

As our exports to Spanish America grow less, as European exports constantly grow larger, the balance against us will show an annual increase, and will continue to exhaust our supply of the precious metals. We are increasing our imports from South America, and the millions we annually pay for coffee, wool, hides, guano, cinchona, caoutchouc, cabinet-woods, dyewoods, and other articles, go for the ultimate benefit of European manufacturers who take the gold from us and send their fabrics to Spanish America. If we could send our fabrics our gold would stay at home, and our general prosperity would be sensibly increased. But so long as we repel Spanish America, so long as we leave her to cultivate intimate relations with Europe alone, so long our trade relations will remain unsatisfactory and, even embarrassing. Those countries sell to us very heavily. They buy from us very lightly. And the amount they bring us in debt each year is larger than the heaviest aggregate balance of trade we ever have against us in the worst of times. The average balance against us for the whole world in the five most adverse years we ever experienced was about one hundred millions of dollars. This plainly shows that in our European exchanges there is always a balance in our favor, and that our chief deficiency arises from our maladjusted commercial relations with Spanish America. It follows that if our Spanish-American trade were placed on a better and more equitable foundation, it would be almost impossible, even in years most unfavorable to us, to bring us in debt to the world.

With such heavy purchases as we are compelled to make from Spanish America, it could hardly be expected that we should be able to adjust the entire account by exports. But the balance against us of one hundred and twenty millions in gold coin is far too large, and in time of stringency is a standing menace of

financial disaster. It should not be forgotten that every million dollars of products or fabrics that we sell in Spanish America is a million dollars in gold saved to our own country. The immediate profit is to the producer and the exporter, but the entire country realizes a gain in the ease and affluence of the money market which is insured by keeping our gold at home. The question involved is so large, the object to be achieved is so great, that no effort on the part of the government to accomplish it could be too earnest or too long continued.

It is only claimed for the Peace Congress, designed under the Administration of Garfield, that it was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. The present tendency in those countries is toward Europe, and it is a lamentable fact that their people are not so near to us in feeling as they were sixty years ago, when they threw off the yoke of Spanish tyranny.

Already one of the most dangerous of movements—that of a European guarantee and guardianship of the Inter-oceanic Canal—is suggested and urged upon the great foreign powers by representatives of a South American country. If these tendencies are to be averted, if Spanish-American friendship is to be regained, if the commercial empire that legitimately belongs to us is to be ours, we must not lie idle and witness its transfer to others. If we would re-conquer it, a great first step must be taken. It is the first step that costs. It is also the first step that counts. Can there be suggested a wiser step than the Peace Congress of the two Americas, that was devised under Garfield and had the weight of his great name?

In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually, and satisfactorily adjusted. The example of seventeen independent nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come.

A political episode of the Garfield Administration in which Mr. Blaine was presumably concerned, demands notice in passing. In June, 1881, the President submitted to the Senate for confirmation, the appointment of Judge Robertson to be Collector of the Port of New York. Collector Merritt, an efficient officer about whose integrity no suspicions had ever been raised, was removed and given a subordinate position to make way for the new appointee. Senator Conkling vigorously opposed the confirmation, and failing to prevent it, with his colleague, Mr. Platt, resigned his seat. We are not concerned here with the history of the Stalwart-Half-Breed quarrels. They may have had their origin in the personal hostilities between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Conkling, who were the recognized leaders of the two factions. Perhaps Mr. Blaine, as the adviser of the Garfield Administration, was responsible for the nomination of Mr. Robertson. Perhaps the removal of a faithful officer in order to provide a place for a political friend, however worthy and capable, is not to be justified on any principle of Civil Service Reform. The controversy is familiar. The facts are common property. The breach is healed. Let him open it again who will. There is nothing but lampblack in it for anybody concerned, and we have no whitewash. The whole quarrel reminds one of the Englishman who, after desperately resisting two highway robbers, was found to have on his person only one battered sixpence, and on being asked why he had fought so hard and so long for such a mere song, replied, as he wiped the dust and blood from his face: "To tell you the truth, gentlemen, I was afraid to have you know how little I had to fight for."

We need not repeat the story of the murder of President Garfield by the assassin, C. A. Guiteau, on the fatal 2d of July, 1881, when the shot was fired in the Baltimore and Ohio Station, at Washington. Mr. Blaine was in the waiting-room.

He followed his wounded chief back to the White House. Then he watched till September 19th, and the guard was relieved. With anxious, tender care he kept his place by the side of the dying President. With wisdom he directed, meanwhile, the administration of the Government. When Congress would hear the praises of him whom in life the people had learned to respect for his honor, and trust for his sagacity and courage, they chose his best friend to tell the story. Mr. Blaine had stood very close to Mr. Garfield. There had sprung up between them an intimacy which is not common among men, independent of political ties, extending beyond political interests, knitting man to man in a profitable union—a union of sympathy, of help, of mutual affection. It was fitting, therefore, that the living friend should speak for his silent companion. The eulogy was delivered in the hall of the House of Representatives, February 27, 1882. President Arthur and Cabinet, Generals of the Army, Admirals of the Navy, the Diplomatic Corps in full regalia, the Supreme Court of the United States, Senators, Representatives, and distinguished citizens were gathered there in the hall which had so often resounded with the voice of the murdered President to hear another speak his eulogy. After a short prayer the President of the Senate, David Davis, arose and said: "This day is dedicated by Congress for memorial services of the late President of the United States, James A. Garfield. I present to you the Hon. James G. Blaine, who has been fitly chosen as the orator for this historical occasion."

Mr. Blaine delivered his memorial oration from manuscript, speaking from the clerk's desk. His tone was subdued, but clear and impressive.

MR. PRESIDENT: For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the

memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first-born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from Old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the colonies in 1620 would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, and from a small emigration from Scotland, from Ireland, and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A con-

siderable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have in part become anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families, and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late President—his father, Abram Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's Peerage, he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, the seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from the Grand Monarque.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits, and during his only visit to England, he busied himself in searching out every trace of his forefathers in parish registries and on ancient army-rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons, one night, after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said, with evident elation, that in every war in which for three centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth; and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

His father dying before he was two years old, Garfield's early life was one of privation, but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too

often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of this destitution, none of these pitiful features appealing to the tender heart and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log-cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log-cabin raised amid the snowdrifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene, the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle, and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty—different in kind, different in influence and effect, from the conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is indeed no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking, is matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield, as it

marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the Republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder, which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer-boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting vessel, or on a merchantman bound to the farther India or to the China seas.

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mould desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride. Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district-school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest-field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season, teaching the common-schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at

twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams onward, to the hour of his tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively president of a college, State Senator of Ohio, Major-General of the Army of the United States, and Representative-elect to the National Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross to Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying, in connection with the other Confederate forces, the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men, he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point,

who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untired as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them—driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major-General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the regular army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign, which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a brigadier-general's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight on the bloody field of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into exercise in completing the task, assigned him by General Buell, of reconstructing bridges and re-establishing lines of railway communication for the army. His occupation in this useful but not brilliant

field was varied by service on courts-martial of importance, in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent Judge Advocate-General of the Army. This of itself was warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful,—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary's deliverance,—was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the Union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of chief-of-staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the chief-of-staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy, and disseminate more strife, than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a Major-General in the Army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of

its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of major-general on the fifth day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the seventh. He had served two years and four months in the army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before any one believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the army and navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and, it might almost be said, unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment, so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appear-

ance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a Major-General of the United States Army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well-educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired, or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy, and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretense can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States and on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew

so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed, the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great characteristics. He never did so well, but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he appeared to be holding additional power at call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much, in persuading an assembly, as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated, and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in a field where the great prizes are so few, cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test; and, if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed probably by not twenty other Representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the Government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely

joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skillful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast: "Our country always right; but right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause is one who believes his party always right, but right or wrong is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of

the field and the time for contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike. He often skillfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against its immemorial rights, against his own convictions, if, indeed, at that period, Fox had convictions, and, in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him, and installed Luttrell, in defiance not merely of law but of public decency. For achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. They were all men of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a single trait in common—the power to command. In the give-and-take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers, in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay, in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler with

deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of its political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader. From these three great men Garfield differed radically: differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may, in some degree, measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will prove valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of Congressional record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political events of the most important era through which the National Government has ever passed. When the history of

this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue, may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanship, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defense of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He, perhaps, more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning, and the patient industry of investigation, to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he had striking resemblances in the type of his mind and in the habit of his speech. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with, possibly, something of his superabundance. In his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of

literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health, and slept well, and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man, and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther, and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate, Garfield grew steadily in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign :

" No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape ; backwounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?"

Under it all he was calm and strong and confident ; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed,

and with the general *débris* of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten, if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this country, had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered, also, the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley, in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought, and such admirable precision of phrase, as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

The peroration fitly crowned an address of classic dignity and power which, for its fair estimate of character, for the fervor of its spirit, and for the beauty of its diction, has a clear right to a place in the annals of American eloquence :

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil

haunted him ; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interests, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties ! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears ; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his ; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic ; the fair young daughter ; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care ; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him, desolation and great darkness ! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned.

The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face, tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its fair sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

Since his retirement from the Cabinet of President Arthur, Mr. Blaine has been at work upon a history of "Twenty Years of Congress." The first volume has already appeared. Those who open the book expecting to find the superficial and prejudiced opinions of an ardent political partisan, and those who look for sectional animosity and special pleading in vindication of a party, will be disappointed. It is evidently the fruit of careful and thorough study, and it is marked by perfect fairness of view, clearness of statement, and soundness of conclusions. It is a genuine contribution to the United States history, by a man who has the advantage of having been himself an actor in the scenes he describes, and of having a judgment which has not been warped by prejudice. His generous estimate of Chief Justice Taney, coming from a Northern abolitionist, is remarkable, and is a fair example of the way in which he treats men with whom he had no sympathy, and whose opinions he heartily and consistently repudiates.

Chief Justice Taney, who delivered the opinion which proved so obnoxious throughout the North, was not only a man of great attainments, but was singularly pure and upright in his life and conversation. Had his personal character been less exalted, or his legal learning less eminent, there would have been less surprise and less indignation. But the same qualities which rendered his judgment of apparent value to the South, called out intense hostility in the North. The lapse of years, however, cools the passions and tempers the judgment. It has brought many anti-slavery men to see that an unmerited share of the obloquy properly attaching to the decision has been visited on the Chief Justice, and that it was unfair to place him under such condemnation, while two Associate Justices in the North—Grier and Nelson—joined in the decision without incurring special censure, and lived in honor and veneration to the end of their judicial careers. While, therefore, time has in no degree abated Northern hostility to the Dred Scott decision, it has thrown a more generous light upon the character and action of the eminent Chief Justice who pronounced it. More allowance is made for the excitement and for what he believed to be the exigency of the hour, for the sentiments in which he had been educated, for the force of association, and for his genuine belief that he was doing a valuable work towards the preservation of the Union. His views were held by millions of people around him, and he was swept along by a current which with so many had proved irresistible. Coming to the bench from Jackson's Cabinet, fresh from the angry controversies of that partisan era, he had proved a most acceptable and impartial judge, earning renown and escaping censure until he dealt directly with the question of slavery. Whatever harm he may have done in that decision was speedily overruled by war, and the country can now contemplate a venerable jurist, in robes that were never soiled by corruption, leading a long life of labor and sacrifice, and achieving a fame in his profession second only to that of Marshall.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NOMINATION.

Before the Convention.—The Blaine movement not a hot-house growth.—Mr. Blaine's dignified attitude.—The Convention.—Organization.—Attempted combination.—The obstinate Independents.—Judge West's nominating speech.—The supreme moment.—Receiving the news.—Congratulations.—Formal announcement to Mr. Blaine.—The Platform.

WHILE Mr. Blaine has been writing history in the retirement of his library, his friends have been diligently casting about in their minds how they might enable him to make history in a National arena and under the attentive gaze of fifty millions of people. The end is not yet. Without any preconcerted movement, voices began to be heard up and down through the land, advocating the nomination of James G. Blaine for the Presidency. By and by the voices grew louder, until, swelling into one mighty chorus, which echoed from the pine forests of Maine to the vineyards of California and back again, they gave notice to the political world that an unmistakable "boom" was having free course in the land, and rapidly taking unto itself much glory in numbers and strength. State after State, with Pennsylvania in the van, wheeled into line where the banner of the white plume was waving, and the note of alarm was sounded in the enemy's camp.

The Blaine movement was in no sense a hot-house growth. It sprang up as the forests do, not because it had been planted, but because the seed was already in the ground. Of course it was not left to grow utterly wild. The wild variety of political plants is not an indigenous growth in this country, and

rarely thrives at all, except in the fertile soil of a rich imagination. However, the Blaine "boom" was sufficiently spontaneous, and, as it seemed to jump with a wide-spread popular demand, the little cultivating it got need trouble no orthodox political purist. It is certainly a tribute to the popularity of the man, and an evidence of the lasting loyalty of his friends, that so much enthusiasm should be shown and so many supporters won for him in a contest in which he had twice entered and twice suffered defeat. There is something out of the common run of human clay in a man who can be successively defeated. Some one has truthfully said of Mr. Blaine's attitude in the preliminary canvass :

The office has been taken to Mr. Blaine; he did not go after it. No man, not even his most intimate associate, can say with truth that Mr. Blaine has unduly pressed the recognition of himself. During the long and anxious struggle of the many candidates for the honor he has won, Mr. Blaine has stood all aloof. He has not put himself in a position to wrest the office or to solicit it from the Convention. With most wise and commendable dignity he went, before the Convention met, to his distant home in Maine, there to await events; to accept the trust and responsibility of the highest place of honor of all if it were offered him, but saying nothing, doing nothing to gain it. He simply kept himself in readiness to obey his country's call. It has called him and he will answer it.

The Chicago Republican Convention of 1884 was the first in twenty-five years in which the man who received the highest number of votes on the first ballot, was in the end nominated, except, of course, in the cases of the re-nomination of Lincoln and Grant. Lincoln, at his first election, and Hayes and Garfield were compromise candidates. The Convention of 1884 was called to order in the Exposition Building at Chicago, Tuesday, June the third. The Hon. John R. Lynch, a

colored Congressman from Mississippi, was made temporary Chairman, after a spirited contest, in which the Blaine candidate, Mr. Powell Clayton, was defeated by a combination of the anti-Blaine forces. The permanent organization was effected with General John B. Henderson, of Missouri, as Chairman.

An allusion to Mr. Blaine, in the Chairman's opening speech, as Maine's honored favorite, "whose splendid abilities and personal qualities have endeared him to the hearts of his friends, and the brilliancy of whose genius challenges the admiration of all," was the signal for prolonged and hearty applause. Four times the cheers rang out from many throats, filling the vast hall with a mighty inharmonious sound, as if a hundred seas had been clamoring together at the barrier of the rocks. At the mention of Mr. Arthur's name the cheering was again renewed with nearly equal zeal and volume of sound. By nightfall on the first day it was plain that the most votes were for Blaine, and that it was a difficult matter to alienate a single supporter. The next strongest candidate was President Arthur. His friends claim that with the hearty co-operation of the Edmunds men he might have been nominated, although they acknowledged it was from the very first a Blaine Convention. The Edmunds contingent was worked over and plied with every possible argument, but although they loved Blaine less they did not love Arthur more. Somehow that one lonesome little drop of independent oil would not mix with the water in the Arthur stream, or in any other, and steadily persisted in being always on the top.

The nominating speeches were made on Friday, June 5th. As the roll of the States was read, Augustus Brandegee, speaking for Connecticut, named General Hawley. Senator Cullom, on behalf of Illinois, presented the name of General Logan. Martin I. Townsend, of New York, had the honor of

representing the friends of President Arthur, and ex-Governor Long, of Massachusetts, nominated Senator Edmunds.

“When ‘Maine’ was spoken by the deep-voiced secretary,” says a newspaper account, “there was a sudden explosion, and in a twinkling the Convention was a scene of the wildest enthusiasm and excitement. Whole delegations mounted their chairs and led the cheering, which instantly spread to the stage and galleries, and deepened into a roar fully as deep and deafening as the voice of Niagara. The scene was indescribable. The air quivered, the gas-lights trembled, and the walls fairly shook; the flags were stripped from the gallery and stage and frantically waved, while hats, umbrellas, handkerchiefs, and other personal belongings were tossed to and fro like bubbles over the great dancing sea of human heads. For a quarter of an hour the tumult lasted, and it only ceased when people had exhausted themselves.”

In the midst of the tumult Judge West, the blind orator of Ohio, was led to the platform, where a seat had been provided for him at the left of the presiding officer’s chair. Three score years and ten had whitened his hairs and beard, but the fire was still left in his eyes and his voice had lost none of its melody and commanding power. To him had been allotted the duty of nominating Mr. Blaine. When the applause ceased, the old man eloquent arose and began his speech :

As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four-and-twenty years of the grandest history in recorded times have distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. The skies have lowered and reverses have threatened, but our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency, not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy de-

pend upon the action of this great council. With bated breath a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen of the South, while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us hail and God speed. Six times, in six campaigns, has that symbol of union, freedom, humanity, and progress been borne in triumph; sometime by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, Ulysses the Great; last by that soldier statesman at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave.

Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that chief [A voice—"James G. Blaine of Maine." Cheers], commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veterans, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of the freed and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and rocked the Republic, rallied, united, and inspired the forces of patriotism and philanthropy in one consolidated phalanx—these great issues have ceased their contentions. The subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past. The arms of the solid South are against us. Not an Electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph comes, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions. From the farm, the anvil, the loom, from the mines, the workshop, and the desk, from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson, must these forces be drawn.

Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but

a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the people desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory—a representative of American manhood—a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan China?

In this contention of forces for political dominion, to whom as a candidate shall be intrusted the bearing of our battle flag? Citizens, I am not here to do it, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do abate one tithe from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds, of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand, old, black eagle of Illinois [here the speaker was interrupted several moments by prolonged applause], and I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him whose confirmation by their votes elevated him to the highest office—second in dignity only to the office of the President himself—the first premiership in the Administration of James A. Garfield. A man who was good enough for these great senatorial rivals to confirm in the high office of the first premiership of the Republic is good enough for the support of a plain, flesh-and-blood God's people for President. Who shall be our candidate? [Cries of "Blaine," "Arthur," and "Logan." A loud voice yelled above the tumult: "Give us Black Jack and we will elect him."] Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class. Send the great apostle to the country labeled the doctors' candidate, the lawyers' candidate, the Wall street candidate, and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave.

Gentlemen, he must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and disenthralment of mankind—a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizen-

ship as the passport of every right, privilege, and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism which under the *sic semper tyrannis* of the Old Dominion annihilates by slaughter popular majorities in the name of Democracy—a Republicanism which, while avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers, will accept insult and humiliation from no Prince, State, Potentate or Sovereignty on earth—a Republicanism as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your Convention. Gentlemen, such a representative Republican, enthroned in the hearts and affections of the people, is James G. Blaine, of Maine. His campaign would commence to-morrow, and continue until victory is assured. There would be no powder burned to fire into the back of leaders. It would only be exploded to illuminate the inauguration. The brazen throats of cannon in yonder square, waiting to herald the result of this Convention, would not have time to cool before his name would be caught up on ten thousand tongues of electric flame. It would sweep down from the Old Pine Tree State. It would go over the hills and valleys of New England. It would insure you Connecticut by 10,000 majority. It would weld together with fervent heat the dissensions in New York. It would blaze through the State of Garfield, that daughter of Connecticut, more beautiful than her mother.

Gentlemen of the Convention, it has been said that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to secure the Republican vote and carry the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this Convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the Presidency with or without the State of New York; that will carry the Legislatures of the several States and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; that shall sweep into the tide sufficient Congressional districts to redeem the House of Representatives and restore it to the Republican party.

Gentlemen, three millions of Republicans believe that the man

to accomplish this is the *Ajax Telamon* of our party, who made—and whose life is—a conspicuous part of its glorious history. Through all the conflicts of its progress, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, whenever humanity needed succor, or freedom needed protection, or country a champion, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there, in the fore front of the battle, was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Judge West was frequently interrupted by storms of applause, which raged with intermittent fury throughout the Convention. At the close of the speech the cheering was again renewed. The balloting began on Saturday. The hall was densely crowded. In spectators and delegates alike expectancy was wrought to the highest pitch. The weary, anxious look on many faces told of sleepless nights with much worry and doubt. The first ballot resulted as follows:

BLAINE, 334½; Arthur, 278; Edmunds, 93; Logan, 63½; John Sherman, 30; Hawley, 13; Lincoln, 4; W. T. Sherman, 2.

On the second ballot Blaine received 349 votes, 375 on the third, and on the fourth 541 and the nomination; Arthur, 207; Edmunds, 41, the rest scattering. Mr. Burleigh, on behalf of President Arthur's friends, moved to make the nomination unanimous, and not a dissenting voice was heard. The "supreme moment" of the Convention, which Mr. Curtis has

defined as "that of the sudden and instructive perception of the multitude that a nomination is about to be made," came when Senator Cullom announced the withdrawal of Logan, and transferred the bulk of the vote of Illinois from her favorite to Blaine. That decided the nomination. Mr. Curtis, who speaks whereof he saw and heard, reproduces the scene that followed in words that seem like the answering echo of memory to the tumult of the Convention.

The decisive instant has arrived. A vote is declared which carries the whole vote beyond the majority point, and the nomination is actually made. The shout that greets it is indescribable. The shout is jubilantly renewed and prolonged. It rolls and lifts like the ocean surf in a storm, and culminates and breaks in a mighty tenth wave of cheers and cries. The voting proceeds. There is universal change to the side that has won of the vote that has held out for another candidate. There is no change of that which has held fast to another cause as well as candidate. That vote holds fast to the end. The formal announcement of the nomination is made. The formal motion of unanimity is declared adopted amid universal uproar. The thunder of cannon shakes the great building in Chicago. The electric wire at the same moment whispers the nomination to Katahdin and the Golden Gate and all the continent between, and the twenty-second Presidential campaign has begun.

On Tuesday of the Convention week Mr. Blaine had gone to his home in Augusta, Maine, where any visitor might have found him quietly at work in his library, on the second volume of "Twenty Years of Congress." He received the bulletins from Chicago seated on his lawn and surrounded by his family. He read the dispatches in his usual distinct and careful way, and exhibited no further signs of anxiety or excitement than occasionally walking up and down the lawn. When the news of the nomination was received he maintained his quiet demeanor, showing only by a deeper glow and a prouder look in

his big lustrous eyes that the mantle of a great honor had touched his shoulders. He said he felt all the more gratified at the result because the nomination had come unsolicited. He had not lifted a finger to secure it. He owed it all to the devoted men who for so many years had loyally stood by him.

He had received over 7,000 letters asking him to be a candidate, but had not answered one.

His friends and neighbors soon crowded about him to extend their congratulations. The telegraph wires were burdened with messages of good-will. The first came from President Arthur. In any other man the generosity and promptness of the pledge might have excited surprise; in Chester A. Arthur it was only natural.

To the Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE, Augusta, Me.:

As the candidate of the Republican party, you will have my earnest and cordial support.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Another brought the benediction of a bereaved home, and there came with it a voice from beyond the grave.

CLEVELAND, O., June 7.

To Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE:

Our household joins in one great thanksgiving. From the quiet of our home we send our most earnest wish that through the turbulent months to follow, and in the day of victory, you may be guarded and kept.

LUCRETIA R. GARFIELD.

In Augusta the good news was hailed with great rejoicing by the fellow-citizens of the honored candidate. Bells were rung and cannon fired. Far into the night the streets were thronged with people filling the air with their lusty cheers for the "Man from Maine."

On Water street a flag was unfurled inscribed with these words, "Our next President, James G. Blaine." Early in the evening a crowd gathered about Mr. Blaine's house, and in response to the cheering he appeared at the door and briefly addressed them :

MY FRIENDS AND MY NEIGHBORS: I thank you most sincerely for the honor of this call. There is no spot in the world where good news comes to me so gratefully as here at my own home; among the people with whom I have been on terms of friendship and intimacy for more than thirty years, people whom I know and who know me. Thanking you again for the heartiness of the compliment, I bid you good-night.

The committee appointed to inform Mr. Blaine of his nomination performed that duty at Augusta, June 21. The ceremony took place on the lawn near the house. Representatives of every State and Territory were there. Mr. Henderson, as chairman of the Committee and on behalf of the Convention, in a few well-chosen words formally tendered to Mr. Blaine the nomination of the Republican party for the Presidency of the United States. During the address of the chairman Mr. Blaine stood with folded arms, the central figure of a brilliant and picturesque group. And then with a becoming recognition of the present honor and the responsibility which was its price, and with a hopeful look into the face of the future, which seemed in the stillness of that perfect June day to whisper back a glad "Hail and Welcome," he briefly responded, accepting the nomination :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE: I receive not without deep sensibility your official notice of the action of the National Convention already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate more profoundly than I can express the honor which is implied in a nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the

nation—speaking through the authoritative voice of duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage from the list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor, and my earnest desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me.

In accepting the nomination, as I now do, I am impressed, I might almost say oppressed, with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the hosts of earnest men who support my candidacy, many of whom add—as does your honorable committee—the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty.

A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and that in the whole and in detail they have my heartiest sympathy, and meet my unqualified approval.

Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my home. With many of you I have already shared the duties of the public service, and have enjoyed the most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers, but with friends. Invoking the blessing of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear and with manly hearts.

Mr. Blaine concluding, Chairman Henderson took a step forward and said : “To one and all of you I introduce the next PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.”

We may most fitly conclude this chapter with the platform adopted by the Convention on which Mr. Blaine takes his stand. It is a clear, emphatic statement of the principles which the Republican party adopts as the reason for its existence ; it promises tariff reform by methods which will

protect the productive interests of the country, advocates the creation of a navy, and insists on a free ballot and honest returns :

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration, by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty, and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men ; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens ; for the elevation of labor ; for an honest currency ; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government ; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful Administration—a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the Administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports

shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that

shall secure to the people and to the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the danger to free institutions which lurks in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt, in good faith, to perform the conditions of such grants,

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of their application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—the policy which seeks peace and can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may, in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation, and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved

and the Union be kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns.

We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our utmost earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

The Independent Republicans.—Blaine's views.—His clear statements.—The Tariff question.—Prosperity of the country.—Our foreign commerce.—Agriculture and the Tariff.—Effect on the mechanic and laborer.—Our foreign policy.—The Southern States.—The civil service.—The Mormon question.—The currency.—The public lands.—Our shipping interests.—Sacredness of the ballot.

THE history of a day cannot be written until the day is done. The revolt against Mr. Blaine in certain quarters is not to be laughed down. It is a hard fact to be squarely faced. The prophet's staff has disappeared from our closet, and we cannot, as some profess, tell exactly what the issue of all this political confusion will be. There are as many ingredients in it as went into the witch's caldron, and no doubt the "charm" will prove as good. American days have a fashion of closing in glory. The *New York Times* and the *New York Evening Post* having committed themselves against Mr. Blaine before the Convention, are only fulfilling their threats in opposing his election.

Other journals, notably *Harpers' Weekly*, have gone and done likewise. Boston also contributes a few drops of blue blood to the revolt. The cloud is a little larger than a man's hand, but small clouds are uncertain; most of them float unnoticed athwart the sky, a few scare children and nurses, a very few are the forerunners of a tempest. November blasts are cold, but who knows which way the wind will blow?

Mr. Blaine's letter of acceptance is a clear and powerful

statement of his views on questions of public policy. There is no mistaking his position on any of the issues with which he deals. Men may quarrel with him for his opinions, but they certainly cannot lay to his charge the faults of indefinite expression, or of an attempt to imitate those acrobatic writers who, by dint of turning somersaults in the air, strive to conceal the shamle in their gait. The part of the letter which deals with the Tariff will be found of particular interest to free traders and protectionists alike—to the former for the facts it contains; to the latter for the conclusions it draws. It has been quite the fashion in some quarters to think of Mr. Blaine and to describe him as a sort of Indian brave, with all his war-paint and feathers on, whose chief end in life was to secure the scalps of that inoffensive but somewhat portly gentleman known to fame as Mr. John Bull; another caricature represents Mr. Blaine as a sort of kangaroo politician, who carefully provides a soft nest for a whole family of hangers-on and henchmen, and scoffs at the idea of reform. People who have met with either of these amusing but purely imaginative pictures will find much profitable matter in what is said in his letter about foreign relations and civil service reform. We print the entire letter, both for its intrinsic merits and because it is the latest authoritative statement of Mr. Blaine's opinions on questions of absorbing national interest.

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1884.

The Hon. JOHN B. HENDERSON and others of the Committee, etc., etc. :

GENTLEMEN: In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the con-

test—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while, on the other hand, the Democratic party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for protection, and since the close of the civil war, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained and will maintain the policy of protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well defined and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the fate of protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the

loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the census of 1850 an effort was made, for the first time in our history, to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for the purposes of assessment, and that, as every one knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between “assessed” value and “true” value been carefully observed. The grand result was that the “true value” of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). The aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United States from the time the first British colonist landed in 1607 down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of 250 years.

After 1860 the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a protective tariff. At the end of twenty years the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). This great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had in the interval been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears that, while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased 60 per cent., the aggregate property of the country increased 214 per cent., showing a vastly enhanced wealth per capita among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war, and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries, and colleges have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our national character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt, and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors, and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party can be trusted to accomplish it in such a form as will most effectively aid the industries of the nation.

OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is, that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the protective tariff. In this way they seek to array the im-

porting interest against the Republican party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly—but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country, regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying trade has, from obvious causes, suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased, indeed, at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860 to the present time, the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America, elsewhere referred to, had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776, down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American Colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand, our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars (\$12,000,000,000), the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a protective tariff has not injured our export trade when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years forty per cent. more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the city of New York, with

its dependencies, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth five-fold. During the same period the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the civil war in 1860.

AGRICULTURE AND THE TARIFF.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the nation, and is entitled in every adjustment of revenue laws to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But happily the farmers of America are intelligent, and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that during the past twenty-four years wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between eight and nine hundred million dollars each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to twenty-six hundred millions, while Illinois had advanced to thirty-two hundred millions. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of eight hundred and fifty millions of dollars, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of fifteen hundred millions. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West have grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost

exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the hopeful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that in the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia, and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them, and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

Such facts as these touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest also, that in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention, or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by fifty-six millions of American free-men, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away

with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the statistical bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter; countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

EFFECT UPON THE MECHANIC AND THE LABORER.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world, would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital—guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past, and will always lead in the future, to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor.

Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China, and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries, to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contracts. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which, under Republican administrations, has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which, with the

power of increased capital, will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis, with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement that for the future all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration, and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's Administration, and it should, in my judgment, be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute, at no distant day, to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot, as Secretary of State, in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance in an official dispatch that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarkation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides

one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish America as wisely and as persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to three hundred and fifty millions of dollars—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite fifty millions—and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded \$225,000,000, while the exports were less than \$125,000,000—showing a balance against us of more than \$100,000,000. But the money does not go to Spanish America. We send large sums to Europe in coin, or its equivalent, to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Cannot this condition of trade in great part be changed? Cannot the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successfully made with every nation of North and South America. While the great powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been culti-

vated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

The name of American, which belongs to us in our national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home and protection which shall follow him abroad, into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

THE SOUTHERN STATES.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable conditions of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquillity and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The general character of the civil service of the United States under all administrations has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period, it can be said to the honor of the American name that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the civil service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the Government from all control of appointments, and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be rigid observance of the law

which gives in all cases of equal competency the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defense of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861, upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point, and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission offered a constant temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusions of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to secretaries of legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

THE MORMON QUESTION.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law “re-

specting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshiped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offenses against the law. A religious sect, strongly entrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practice as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practice polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the rite of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others, and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive national sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

OUR CURRENCY.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among the Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease

to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of landholders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard for vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the national domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers and to those who are citizens of the Republic, or willing to become so.

OUR SHIPPING INTERESTS.

Among our national interests one languishes—the foreign carrying-trade. It was very seriously crippled in our civil war, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freighting larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufactures, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises, would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

SACREDNESS OF THE BALLOT.

This survey of our condition as a nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of Republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizen. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER XIV.

AT HOME AND AMONG HIS FRIENDS.

Home life a test of character.—Mr. Blaine the friend and adviser of his children.—The first home of Mr. Blaine's in Augusta.—Respected and beloved by his employees and townsmen.—Teacher in a Mission Sunday-school.—Religious views.—His family.—Homes in Washington and Augusta.—A friend's reasons for supporting Mr. Blaine.

WHAT a man is worth in his own home and to his intimate friends is a tolerably exact measure of his worth to the world. The quality of feeling there is in the heart determines the kind of thinking you will get from the head. The influence of things that are oftenest seen, of surroundings that make the unvarying setting of busy trying life, of faces that smile or frown, of voices that, tender or harsh, have grown familiar as the echoes of our own, in this there is the making or the marring of character. The truth holds that what a man gets from those to whom he stands closest, and what he gives to them, greatly determines the man.

It is said and believed, too, that the private life of a public man need not be too closely scrutinized. How long does it take for popular indifference to the private life and character of public servants to beget in them indifference to public virtues? Just long enough to bring National disgrace and ruin uncomfortably near.

Mr. Blaine's home is no better, no purer, no more sacred and beneficent in its quiet influence than thousands of others where humbler lives are bound together around a common hearth. It is an American home of the best New England type.

Piety, unity, hospitality are its watchwords. Mr. Blaine is not only the head and ruler of the family, he is also the friend and adviser of every member of it, coming into close sympathy with all, suiting to each that particular word of counsel and that special help which in his watchful care he may see each needs. He rarely speaks a harsh word to any of his children, and treats them all with unusual indulgence. No one who enjoys the hospitality of that home but owns its perfect unity, the harmony without a single discordant note that seems at all times to prevail in it. That it is a home hallowed by a peculiar Christian piety, is the glad testimony of those who, as pastors and friends, have entered within the secrets of its life.

When Mr. Blaine moved to Augusta he occupied an old-fashioned house on Green street, formerly the homestead of his wife's family. He had no special room set apart for a study, but usually did his editorial work in the dining-room. Some of the men in his employ lived with him and enjoyed the blessings of his home. One of these men, who has since become proprietor and editor of the *Kennebec Journal*, says :

I wish every voter in America had had my opportunity for eighteen months, right in his own home, to see and know Mr. Blaine; they would find out what a royal man he is.

Mr. Blaine enjoyed from the first the respect and favor of the community in which he lived. He knew no distinctions of rank or social position, and was always a gentleman in his dealings with the humblest of those with whom he was daily brought in contact.

Nearly thirty years ago it was proposed to start a Sunday-school in one of the most degraded parts of the city. "People's Hall" was chosen for the Sunday-school room, and Mr. Blaine became the teacher of the Bible-class. It was a rough neigh-

borhood, chiefly taken up with dance-houses and low resorts of every kind. The people who composed the Bible-class came in their shirt-sleeves, with the fumes of tobacco and bad whisky still lingering about them. Mr. Blaine prepared himself for his Sunday work with particular care, and succeeded in keeping the undivided attention of his somewhat exacting hearers by the clearness and power with which he expounded the truths of Scripture. A man who owns that by his effort he was rescued from a life of vice and crime, said of him : "Not a day passes but I bless the name of Blaine. The words uttered long years ago, in that Sunday-school class, ring in my ears to-day."

Rev. Dr. Ecob, a former pastor of Mr. Blaine, wrote to the Albany *Evening Journal* soon after the nomination :

I have known Mr. Blaine since 1872. During nearly ten years of that time I was pastor of the church in Augusta of which Mr. and Mrs. Blaine are members. The satisfaction I take in his nomination is based upon such a knowledge of him as only a pastor can gain. I believe that I am too true a Republican, and I know that my conception of citizenship is too high to permit me to ratify the exaltation of any man whose character has not the true ring. I have been very near to Mr. Blaine, not only in the most trying political crisis, but in the sharper trial of great grief in the household, and have never yet detected a false note. I would not be understood as avowing too much for human nature. I mean that as I have known him he has stood loyally by his convictions ; that his word has always had back of it a clear purpose, and that purpose has always been worthy of the highest manhood.

In his home he was always the soul of geniality and good cheer. It was always summer in that house, whatever the Maine winter might be without. And not only his "rich neighbors and kinsmen" welcomed him home, but a long line of the poor hailed the return of that family as a special Providence. In the church he is honored and beloved. Not only his presence on Sabbath,

but his influence, his wise counsels, his purse are freely devoted to the interest of the noble old South Church of Augusta.

The hold Mr. Blaine has maintained upon the hearts of such great numbers of his countrymen is not sufficiently explained by brilliant gifts; the secret lies in his generous, manly, Christian character. Those who have known him best are not surprised that his friends all over the country have been determined that he should secure the highest honor within their gift. It is because they believe in him. The office has sought the man, the political papers to the contrary notwithstanding. I have absolute knowledge that in 1880 he did not lift a finger to influence the Convention. He was quietly at home devoting himself to his business affairs, and steadfastly refused the entreaties even of his own family to interest himself in behalf of the nomination. I, for one, shall put my conscience into my vote next November.

In a letter written in 1876, Mr. Blaine said, with dignity :

My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any declaration on the subject, and for two reasons : First, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a Republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen ; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect any political support from them.

Mr. Blaine has six children, three sons and three daughters. The eldest, William Walker Blaine, is a graduate of Yale College, and Columbia Law School, New York, and is now Assistant Counsel for the United States in the Court of Alabama Claims. The second son, Emmons Blaine, a graduate of Harvard College, is in the employment of the Chicago

and Northwestern Railroad Company, at Chicago. The third son, James Gillespie Blaine, Jr., has not yet completed his education. The eldest daughter, Alice, is the wife of Colonel Coppenger, of the United States Army, and Margaret and Harriet, the young daughters, are still at home.

Mr. Blaine's present residence in Augusta is a plain, square house, surrounded by ample grounds, and a full view of the capitol, which stands next to it. Both there and in Washington he has a valuable library, especially rich in political and general history, and in biography. He is a close and constant reader, and his excellent memory enables him to retain whatever of value he discovers between the covers of any book he has read. His Washington residence was for many years the plain, substantial brick building No. 821 Fifteenth street. A few years ago he sold this house to Mr. Travers, of New York, for \$24,500, and built for himself a more elegant mansion in another part of the city, but he occupied this new residence only a part of one winter, and on the death of Mr. Garfield leased the property to Mr. Leiter, of Chicago. Last winter he rented a house on Lafayette Square, where much of his history was written.

The testimony of a close friend, whose words we have elsewhere quoted, may serve to convey to our readers some idea of the confidence and admiration which Mr. Blaine has been able to inspire in the one who knew him best. In a letter to the *Christian Union*, giving his reasons for supporting Mr. Blaine, Rev. Dr. Ecob says :

I most cordially support Mr. Blaine for his own sake. I believe in the man. This confidence has steadily strengthened through twelve years of personal acquaintance. The story of Mr. Blaine's public service is "known and read of all men." The character which his friends have loved in private life is the motive and light of the public career. In all the varied and complicated problems

which have engaged the American people for the past twenty years, he has never failed to lift his voice and cast his vote on the side with the enlightened conscience of the country. He has not been quietly for the right, but openly, aggressively, mightily for the right. Let any man of clear head and clean heart search the record of Mr. Blaine's official utterances and votes, from the Maine Legislature to the last act as Secretary of State, and I challenge him to impeach that record at any important point. Even his mistakes are of that open, manly character that all manly men readily condone.

In my estimation of this man I would not forget that he is peculiarly American, both as a citizen and a statesman—a fact which I am proud to say touches my deepest, most sacred sympathies. Among our distinguished citizens, who would more fitly represent American Republicanism than Mr. Blaine? He has everywhere steadily resisted the monarchic, aristocratic idea. He has never failed to enthusiastically champion American citizenship, dating, as it does, back to that fundamental, unchangeable element, manhood. His public acts have always partaken of the color and glow of this personal devotion. He loves his country. He appreciates, as few of our statesmen seem to, the scope and significance of our American nationality.

Reasons like the above establish my faith in Mr. Blaine as a man. Character is one. It is not part private, part public. It is all public. What we know him to be in the small arc of his private personal life, that he must be in the whole great circle of the public career. I shall vote *con amore* for the man.

He—Mr. Blaine—is a man of good temper and temperament, though with a certain intellectual vehemence that might sometimes be mistaken for anger, of strong physique, wonderful powers of endurance and of recuperation, of great activity and industry, kindly and frank, easily approachable, and ready to aid all good causes with tongue, pen, and purse. His studies have been largely on political questions and political history.

He is an intense believer in the American Republic, one and

indivisible, jealous and watchful for her honor, her dignity, and her right of eminent domain, ready to brave the wrath of the East for the welfare of the West, as in the Chinese question ; ready to differ from political friends rather than permit the indefinite suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* ; ready to brave the wrath of the Conservatives for the rights of the Southern blacks, as in his opposition to President Hayes' Southern policy—and perfectly ready to give the British lion's mane a tweak when that fine old king of beasts crashes too clumsily among our fishing flakes.

Mr. Blaine was not a poor man when he entered Congress, in 1863, and he is not a millionaire now. For twenty years he has owned a valuable coal tract of several hundred acres near Pittsburg. This yielded him a handsome income many years before he entered Congress, and the investment has been a profitable one during his public life.

However men may differ respecting Mr. Blaine's public career, all allow that he is the most conspicuous of American statesmen, eminent in council and in debate. No one living has better earned by greater service to the Nation, the highest honor the Nation can bestow. He has a firm will, long experience, unalloyed love for his country. Ripe in judgment, prompt in action, patriotic always, he deserves to be the Head of the Republic of which he has been so long the pride.

CHAPTER XV.

PERSONAL TRAITS.

Outward appearance.—Not a perfect man.—Human weaknesses.—Exaggerated praise and blame.—Private character.—Opinion not evidence.—Knowledge of the ignorant.—Qualities which Mr. Blaine possesses in common with all successful men.—His remarkable memory.—Story of a war correspondent.—Not eccentric.—Frankness and sincerity.—Four characteristics.—Magnetism.—Sympathy with public opinion.—Executive ability.—Americanism.—Final estimate.

THE fact of success is its own reason. Of two acorns planted side by side, one may grow to be a great oak, and the other never lift its head above the sod. The most we can do in the way of accounting for a successful man, is to say that the lines fell to him in pleasant places, and that things came to him to do that he was able to perform. We do not undertake to discover the secret of Mr. Blaine's greatness. If we did, we should soon have at our throats a whole pack of politicians, who would deny alike the secret and the greatness. But even those who, in their honest opposition to the man, doubt his integrity and worth, may patiently follow us while we try to point out a few personal traits of a prominent and influential American.

As the road to the inner truth lies through the outer shell, and as a man's looks are so often a sort of shorthand character for the temper and quality of the hidden self, we will take space enough at the outset of this study to give whatever accurate notion we can of the outward appearance of Mr. Blaine. He is tall, with a full figure, broad shoulders, large limbs and

features, and a well-knit frame ; his hair and beard, which he wears closely cut, are touched with gray, and under his heavy eyebrows his black eyes flash and sparkle from their deep-lying sockets. At fifty-four, he bears himself with the easy grace of an athlete, and steps with the firm tread of youth. His whole bearing suggests alertness, equipoise, self-control. In these the mind has played tutor to the body.

Mr. Blaine has, throughout his life, been distinctively a man of affairs, and to be trusted, as he has been at all times, by those who have come in the closest contact with him, is the most unanswerable circumstance for which those who assail him under the impulse of a political contest must offer an explanation. As the leading spirit in the management of a newspaper of no small proportions, as a joint proprietor of lands and mines of considerable extent, he has, without exception, retained the amicable confidence and respect of his associates, who have belonged to that class popularly known as business men—a class proverbially free from sentimental or political considerations in the determination and pursuit of a commercial policy.

That the great principles of human equity were deeply impressed upon his character was never more clearly demonstrated than during his brief though brilliant career as Secretary of State, when his first efforts were devoted to a settlement of the unhappy dispute between Chili and Peru, which was resulting in untold misery, distress, and financial ruin to thousands of innocent people. His policy was primarily that of the humanitarian, actuated by simple goodness of heart. Rev. Dr. Webb, of Boston, who was at one time pastor of the Old South Church, in Augusta, a strict Calvinist, whose theology would not lead him to very rose-colored views of human nature, recently said of his former parishioner : “The manœuvres, bargains, crimes, and plots

which have been attributed to him within the last few months, might have been attributed to General Gordon, in Khartoum, with just about as much truth. From personal knowledge and confidence in the absolute truthfulness of words spoken to me, I do not believe Mr. Blaine has spoken a word, or written a letter, or spent a farthing to secure his present nomination. And if he is elected, as I trust he will be, it will be because the people want him to be President. If elected, he will call to his aid some of the purest and ablest men in the country; he will give an administration which for justice, goodness, and stability will compare well with the best that has preceded it."

The opinion of Mr. Blaine's clergyman deserves to weigh much with those who do not know him personally, and must take the statements of others as to his personal character. While other men have received the honor of which the same could be said, the temptation to take some steps to gain a prize which had twice barely escaped his grasp must have been such as would have beguiled a less self-commanded character out of the quiet path which, as a private citizen, he had marked out for himself.

It is pleasant, too, to note with what confidence his late spiritual adviser foreshadows the influences that will surround Mr. Blaine should he become President. This assurance argues a thorough knowledge, which the sacred relations of pastor to layman make incumbent upon the former to indicate but not disclose.

Certain characteristics are common to all men who make any figure in the world, and to affirm that Mr. Blaine possesses these in a marked degree, is only saying in longer terms that he has won a goodly share of Dame Fortune's favors.

The grace of common sense has been abundantly bestowed

upon him, and industry and perseverance are the master words of his career. He has always been a hard worker, often prolonging the hours of toil far into the night. It is said that in order to prepare himself for the editorship of the *Kennebec Journal*, he read through the files of the paper from the very beginning, so that he might not be embarrassed in his writing by ignorance of its past policy. The same spirit of thoroughness and painstaking care have characterized him in all the positions he has been called upon to fill. His readiness in every emergency to say and do the right thing, may be partly due to this thorough habit which enabled him to summon up at once and put into speedy action all the powers of his mind. He is, moreover, possessed, as we have said, of a retentive memory. In this respect he is not unlike Henry Clay, whom he so much resembles in other ways.

He rarely forgets a name, a face never, and his accurate recollection of incidents and facts makes him a formidable antagonist in debate. A story illustrating his tenacity of recollection is told by a war correspondent of the *New York Herald*. The story runs as follows :

In 1863 I wrote an account, some twelve columns long, of the battle of Chickamauga. About twenty lines of the entire account were devoted to the narration of a trifling incident. A white pigeon, or dove, confused by the smoke of the last desperate combat at the close of the battle, in which George H. Thomas repulsed Longstreet's attack on his right, fluttered awhile over the heads of Thomas, Garfield, Wood, and others, grouped in a little hollow in the field for protection from the rebel sharpshooters, and then perched on the limb of a dead tree just above them. Here it sat until the firing ceased, and then flew northward unhurt. It was a pretty incident, and, of course, I took all the license of a writer and made it as striking a passage of the narrative as I could. In 1874, eleven years later, while in the Capitol one day, I was introduced to Mr. Blaine, who was at the

time Speaker of the House. If I remember rightly, I had never before seen him, and I supposed he had never heard of me. Imagine my astonishment, then, when he said abruptly on hearing my name, "You're the man I've been wanting to see for ten years."

He took my arm and drew me half away to one side of the corridor. "Did you write for *The Herald* an account of Chickamauga in which a white dove figured rather poetically?" he asked, and then went on to recall what I had written. "Now," he continued, "tell me, was that a true incident, or only done to make the story readable." I assured him it was true, and mentioned that General Garfield, who was in the House, would probably recall it, as he was present. Nothing more of interest passed between us; but naturally I have since sworn by the man who could recall my unknown name and what I had written about a mere incident occurring ten years before. He was so earnest in his inquiry that I have never doubted that his curiosity in the matter, small as the incident was, was genuine.

Four characteristics are commonly ascribed to Mr. Blaine, which, if not simply peculiar to him at least in their combination, serve to distinguish him among the men of his time. The first is his magnetism, a sort of indescribable quality which everybody recognizes, but nobody is able to quite account for. It is wholly independent of anything we may do or say, something which belongs to his personality, or rather which emanates from his personality, and is inseparable from it as fragrance is from the flower. It is simply magnetism—a force to be felt. Lincoln became popular because he put himself into the breach and fought out a glorious triumph against unimagined odds. Garfield was beloved for what he suffered. Mr. Blaine is the most remarkable example in our day of a man whose popularity primarily rests not at all upon anything that he has done, but upon the subtle charm of the man himself. For most men, success is essential

to power. While Napoleon was making French arms the terror of Europe, France was content to obey him. After Waterloo came another revolution. Here is a man who, in spite of defeat, in spite of calumny, in spite of fierce political opposition steadily maintained for many years, maintains a personal following and arouses an enthusiasm which, by common consent of friend and foe, are unequaled within the limits of the States.

There is a popularity which is within the reach of any man who can tickle the ears of the crowd, or who happens to suit its passing mood. Any demagogue may have that. Followers are so like the leaves which the tempest gathers in its grasp, but which scatter when the wind goes down. There is something deeper than this clever juggler's wit in the man who holds through good report and ill the affection and admiration of a swelling throng. Call him by what names we may, heap upon him all the abuse that malice can contrive or honest search can discover, hate him with the hatred of Cain for his brother, he has yet a certain divine quality—if Satanic still divine—something in the man and his maker, a royal might before which, though our knees were stiff and of brass, we must down and worship. In Mr. Blaine we have suggested the most potential factor in the mutations of history, when empires were built up or torn down through the power of a single man—the power he has of making friends and holding them through thick and thin. It is not a common gift. It is not anything that can be acquired. It does not take the place of character, and it does not attest character. It is a quality which made the Heroes, and to a man who in a land of universal suffrage hopes for political preferment it is almost indispensable. To confirm what we have said out of the mouth of an unwilling witness, let us quote what was said of Mr. Blaine a week before the Chicago Convention by the *Buffalo Express*,

a paper which in the preliminary canvass consistently advocated the nomination of Mr. Edmunds.

It is clear that the one name upon which interest chiefly centres in Chicago is that of James G. Blaine. He is the one man mentioned there who, as a political leader, can be justly called great. There are many politicians and a few statesmen, but there is only one candidate who, by virtue of his personal attractions, his innate qualities of mind and of heart, attracts a large following. He is the one man for whom his friends and supporters can accept no substitute.

The *Express* has not been a supporter of Mr. Blaine's candidacy. It does not now believe his nomination to be wise. It still hopes Mr. Edmunds will be nominated. But Mr. Blaine's wonderful personal qualities, and his amazing hold upon the affections of the great mass of Republican voters of this country, have been so emphasized in the preliminary contest that they cannot any longer be a matter of dispute, if, indeed, they ever have been disputed. For the third time in eight years he is a candidate before a Republican National Convention. Each time he has been opposed by the powerful lever of political patronage. But, though twice beaten by combinations against him, he appears the third time stronger than ever. He has not only held his own under adverse circumstances, but he has grown in the popular mind—becomes yearly a greater favorite—and to-day fulfills more nearly than ever before Colonel Ingersoll's wonderful picture of "a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain beneath the flag."

The second characteristic is quickness to discern the drift of public opinion. It will at once be said that this is only a time-serving spirit. It may be that, but it need not be. It may make of a man a mere trimmer in politics, who changes his opinions as often as he does his coat, and in some cases a great deal oftener, or it may accredit him as a genuine leader—one who gets his title to command not so much by impressing his will upon others as by coming into such close sympathy with

his followers, that he is able to know by a sort of instinct which way they want to be led, and by his superior wisdom and experience to lead to the desired end by the safest and most direct road. It is one thing, and an important thing, to form public opinion, to arouse sluggish minds and consciences to realize evils which were before complacently endured. It is another and quite as important a thing to give practical expression to the reform spirit where it is once thoroughly awakened. Mr. Blaine is not a reformer, but he is in full sympathy with all well-organized reform movements. It is urged against him that he has not been a prominent advocate of civil service reform. It is true he has not taken an active part in this agitation, but he was the chief adviser of the Administration which did attempt to enforce the principles of honesty and efficiency in our public service. In a speech delivered at Winterport, Maine, he very clearly indicates his real interest in the reform agitation, and his sagacity with respect to its application in practice.

“There are many reforms,” he said, “which I should be glad to see, and which I have for many years believed in. I should be glad to see every Federal officer, however honorable, appointed for a specific period, during which he could not be removed except for cause, which cause should be specified, proved, and made matter of record. I should be glad to see the tenure of all subordinate officers made longer, at least, than a Presidential term, so that the incoming of a new Administration should not be harassed, annoyed, crippled, and injured by the distribution of offices. Seven years would be a good length of term, and would effect the desired end. It would break joints with the Presidential term, and would avoid the evil of which I have spoken. There are a great many honest advocates of reform in the civil service who believe in a life tenure for all subordinate officials. I have never been able to persuade myself that this would be wise, even if practicable, and I am quite sure that it is not prac-

ticable. Life tenure means a pension to the incumbent, and, with a hundred thousand office-holders, this would impose an intolerable burden on the tax-payer. It would create what might be termed a privileged class, which is always sure, in the end, to prove unpopular and odious in the eyes of the people."

Great political leaders are rarely the authors of the reforms they carry out. It is their office to interpret to popular will, not to antagonize it, nor anticipate it. They are leaders by virtue of being servants and representatives.

The third characteristic of Mr. Blaine follows naturally upon the last. His capacity is executive, not original. He has not framed as much legislature as a great many men, his compeers in Congress, who have attained less distinction, but in expediting the passage of bills, in marshaling the party forces upon a single point, in the field service of the political contests which are fought in legislative halls, he is without an equal. Campaigns well planned are often lost for want of a man to strike a blow in time. It is more as a party leader and organizer than as a statesman in the strict sense of the term that Mr. Blaine has been most successful. His good judgment, his ability to adapt means to ends, his personal power, his unfailing sagacity, which, properly speaking, is a sort of practical wisdom, have enabled him to do what few other men could do—to successfully control and direct legislation; and right here we may stop to note in passing that just such qualities as these are demanded in the President of the United States. His business is not to create legislation, but to pass judgment upon it. Supposing him to have the other necessary qualifications—experience, common sense, knowledge, and integrity—it would be no disparagement to a President that he did not possess original genius. Andrew Jackson was a very amusing man, but it is pretty well agreed that the day for chief magistrates of the "Old Hickory" type of originality has passed away.

The last of the four characteristics which, in their harmonious union in a single personality, may be taken to fairly distinguish Mr. Blaine, is his intense Americanism.

He heartily supports the American theory of protection as best adapted to develop the industries of the country, and during his brief career as Secretary of State his policy was directed to secure for the great American Republic her fair share in the commerce of the world. Said a prominent Philadelphia lawyer, recently : " Although opposed to Mr. Blaine politically, I respect and admire him as a man and an American, but most of all do I admire his intense Americanism."

The final estimate of any man may best be written as an epitaph on his tombstone ; contemporary judgment is fallible because it cannot discern the end from the beginning, nor measure the far-reaching effects of the present act which it cheers or hisses. Some things must still be greatly dark which only to-morrow's light can make plain. We cannot speak for history, but, perhaps, in the assize of to-day this verdict will not be disputed. Among the men who have worn and held a large place in the esteem and affection of a great people, who have been quick and responsive to its calls, and able to lead in its councils, who have espoused with undivided loyalty what they regarded as highest among the great men of our day, and generals who have gloried in the name of America, the man who to-morrow shall tell the story of to-day must write the honorable and honored name of James Gillespie Blaine.

APPENDIX.

I.

MULLIGAN LETTERS.

WE have alluded in the body of the book to the affair which is commonly called the "Mulligan letters." We now give the report from the Congressional Record of Mr. Blaine's defence; also a letter of explanation, written April 26, 1884, by William Walter Phelps; leaving the impartial reader to say whether the refutation of the charges is not complete.

On June 5, 1876, when the morning hour had expired, Mr. Blaine rose to a question of privilege. Mr. S. S. Cox, of New York, was the Speaker *pro tempore*. Mr. Blaine spoke as follows:

Mr. BLAINE. If the morning hour has expired, I will rise to a question of privilege.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The morning hour has expired.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker, on the 2d day of May this resolution was passed by the House:

Whereas it is publicly alleged, and is not denied by the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, that that corporation did, in the year 1871 or 1872, become the owner of certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, for which bonds the said Union Pacific Railroad Company paid a consideration largely in excess of their actual or market value, and that the board of directors of said Union Pacific Railroad Company, though urged, have neglected to investigate said transaction: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire if any such transaction took place, and, if so, what were the circumstances and inducements thereto, from what person or persons said bonds were obtained and upon what consideration, and whether the transaction was from corrupt design or in furtherance of any corrupt object; and that the committee have power to send for persons and papers.

That resolution on its face, and in its fair intent, was obviously designed to find out whether any improper thing had been done by the Union Pacific Railroad Company; and of course, incidentally thereto, to find out with whom the transaction was made. The gentleman who offered that resolution offered it when I was not in the House, and my colleague, [Mr. FRYE,] after it was objected to, went to the gentleman and stated that he would have no objection to it, as he knew I would not have if I were present in the House. The

gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. TARBOX,] to whom I refer, took especial pains to say to my colleague that the resolution was not in any sense aimed at me. The gentleman will pardon me if I say that I had a slight incredulity upon that assurance given by him to my colleague.

No sooner was the subcommittee designated than it became entirely obvious that the resolution was solely and only aimed at me. I think there had not been three questions asked until it was obvious that the investigation was to be a personal one upon me, and that, the Union Pacific Railroad or any other incident of the transaction was secondary, insignificant, and unimportant. I do not complain of that; I do not say that I had any reason to complain of it. If the investigation was to be made in that personal sense, I was ready to meet it.

The gentleman on whose statement the accusation rested, Mr. Harrison, was first called. He stated what he knew from rumor. Then there were called Mr. Rollins, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Millard from Omaha, a Government director of the Union Pacific road, and finally Thomas A. Scott. The testimony was completely and conclusively in disproof of the charge that there was any possibility that I could have had anything to do with the transaction.

I expected (and I so stated to the gentleman from Virginia, the honorable chairman of the subcommittee) that I should have an early report; but the case was prolonged and prolonged and prolonged; and when last week the witnesses had seemed to be exhausted, I was somewhat surprised to be told that the committee would now turn to investigate a transaction of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company on a newspaper report that there had been some effort on my part with a friend in Boston to procure for him a share in that road, which effort had proved abortive, the money having been returned. I asked the honorable gentleman from Virginia on what authority he made that investigation—not that I cared about it; I begged him to be assured I did not; and the three witnesses that he called could not have been more favorable to me within any possibility. But I wanted to know on what authority I was to be arraigned before the country upon an investigation of that kind; and a resolution offered in this House on the 31st of January by the gentleman from California [Mr. LUTTRELL] was read as the authority for investigating that little transaction in Boston. I ask the House to bear with me while I read a somewhat lengthy resolution:

Whereas the several railroad companies hereinafter named, to wit, the Northern Pacific, the Kansas Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Central Branch of the Union Pacific, the Western Pacific, the Southern Pacific, the Sioux City and Pacific, the Northern Pacific, the Texas and Pacific, and all Pacific roads or branches to which bonds or other subsidies have been granted by the Government, have received from the United States, under the act of Congress of July 1, 1862, the act March 3, 1874, and the several acts amendatory thereof, money subsidies amounting to over \$64,000,000, land subsidies amounting to over 220,000,000 acres of the public domain, bond subsidies amounting to \$—, and interest amounting to \$—, to aid in the construction of their several roads; and whereas it is but just and proper that the Government and people should understand the status of such roads and the disposition made by such companies in the construction of their roads of the subsidies granted by the Government: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That the Judiciary Committee be, and are hereby, instructed and authorized to inquire into and report to this House, first, whether the several railroad companies hereinbefore named, or any of them, have, in the construction of their railroads and telegraph lines, fully complied with the requirements of law granting money, bonds, and land subsidies to aid such companies in the construction of their railroads and telegraph lines; second, whether the several railroad companies or any of them have formed within themselves corporate or construction companies for the purpose of subletting to such corporate or construction companies contracts for building and equipping said roads or any portion thereof, and, if so, whether the money, land, and bond subsidies granted by the Government have been properly applied by said companies or any of them in the construction of their road or roads; third, whether the several railroad

companies or any of them have forfeited their land subsidies by failing to construct and equip their road or roads or any portion of them as required by law; and, fourth, that, for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the several Pacific railroads or any of them, the Judiciary Committee shall have full power to send for persons and papers, and, after thorough investigation shall have been made, shall report to this House such measure or bill as will secure to the Government full indemnity for all losses occasioned by fraudulent transactions or negligence on the part of said railroad companies or any of them, or on the part of any corporate or construction company, in the expenditures of moneys, bonds, or interest, or in the disposition of land donated by the Government for the construction of the roads or any of them or any portion thereof, and for the non-payment of interest lawfully due the Government, or any other claim or claims the United States may have against such railroad company or companies.

Now, that resolution embraces a very wide scope. It undoubtedly embraces a great many things which it is highly proper for the Government to look into; but I think the gentleman from California who offered that resolution will be greatly surprised to find that the first movement made under it to investigate what the Northern Pacific Railroad Company has done was to bring the whole force of that resolution to find out the circumstances of a little transaction in Boston which never became a transaction at all. I asked the gentleman from Virginia how he deduced his power. Well, he said it would take three months to go through the whole matter, but in about three months it would reach this point, and that he might as well begin on me right there. Well, he began; and three witnesses testified precisely what the circumstances were. I had no sooner got through with that, than I was advised that in another part of the Capitol, without the slightest notice in the world being given to me, with no monition, no warning to me, I was being arraigned before a committee known as the Real Estate Pool Committee, which was originally organized to examine into the affairs of the estate of Jay Cooke & Co., and whose powers were enlarged on the 3d day of April by the following resolution:

Whereas, on the 24th day of January, A.D. 1876, the House adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a special committee of five members of this House, to be selected by the Speaker, be appointed to inquire into the nature and history of said real estate pool and the character of said settlement, with the amount of property involved, in which Jay Cooke & Co. were interested, and the amount paid or to be paid in settlement, with power to send for persons and papers and report to this House; Therefore,

Be it resolved, That said committee be further authorized and directed to likewise investigate any and all matters touching the official misconduct of any officer of the Government of the United States or of any member of the present Congress of the United States which may come to the knowledge of said committee: *Provided*, That this resolution shall not affect any such matter now being investigated by any other committee under authority of either House of Congress; and for this purpose said committee shall have the same powers to send for persons and papers as conferred by said original resolution.

They began an investigation which I am credibly informed, and I think the chairman of that committee will not deny, was specifically aimed at me. I had no notice of it, not the remotest; no opportunity to be confronted with witnesses. I had no idea that any such thing was going on, not the slightest. So that on three distinct charges I was being investigated at the same time and having no opportunity to meet any one of them; and I understand, though I was not present, that the gentleman from Virginia has this morning introduced a fourth, to find out something about the Kansas Pacific Railroad, a transaction fifteen years old if it ever existed, and has summoned numerous witnesses.

Mr. HUNTON. What was the statement the gentleman just made? I did not fully understand it.

Mr. BLAINE. That an investigation has been set on foot by the gentle-

man, aimed at me, in regard to the Kansas Pacific Railroad, and that witnesses have been summoned on that question, the transaction out of which it grew being fifteen years old.

Now, I say—and I state it boldly—that, under these general powers to investigate Pacific railroads and their transactions, the whole enginery of this committee is aimed personally at me; and I want that to be understood by the country. I have no objection to it; but I want you by name to organize a committee to investigate JAMES G. BLAINE. I want to meet the question squarely. That is the whole aim and intent; and the gentleman from Virginia and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. KNOTT] will pardon me for saying that when this investigation was organized I felt that such was the whole purpose and object. I will not further make personal references; for I do not wish to stir up any blood on this question; but ever since a certain debate here in January it has been known that there are gentlemen in this Hall whose feelings were peculiarly exasperated toward me. And I beg the gentleman from Kentucky, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to remember that when this matter affecting me went to his committee, while there were seven democratic members of that committee, he took as the majority of the subcommittee the two who were from the South and had been in the rebel army.

Mr. KNOTT. Will the gentleman allow me one word?

Mr. BLAINE. After a moment; I have not a great deal of time.

Mr. KNOTT. As the gentleman has made an insinuation, I prefer to answer it now.

Mr. BLAINE. Very well.

Mr. KNOTT. These railroad investigations were referred to that committee before I ever heard the gentleman's name insinuated in connection with them; and I will say furthermore that I had no act or part in instituting any investigation implicating the gentleman at all.

Mr. BLAINE. Then when the investigation began, the gentleman from Virginia who conducted it insisted under that resolution, which was obviously on its face limited to the seventy-five thousand dollar transaction—the transaction with the Union Pacific Railroad—he insisted on going into all the affairs of the Fort Smith Railroad as incidental thereto, and pursued that to such an extent that finally I had myself through my colleague, Mr. FRYE, to take an appeal to the whole committee, and the committee decided that the gentleman had no right to go there. But when he came back and resumed the examination he began again exactly in the same way, and was stopped there and then by my colleague who sits in front, not as my attorney, but as my friend.

When the famous witness Mulligan came here loaded with information in regard to the Fort Smith road, the gentleman from Virginia drew out what he knew had no reference whatever to the question of investigation. He then and there insisted on all of my private memoranda being allowed to be exhibited by that man in reference to business that had no more connection, no more relation, no more to do with that investigation than with the North Pole.

And the gentleman tried his best, also, though I believe that has been abandoned, to capture and use and control my private correspondence. This man had selected out of correspondence running over a great many years letters which he thought would be peculiarly damaging to me. He came here loaded with them. He came here for a sensation. He came here primed. He came here on that particular errand. I was advised of it, and

I obtained those letters under circumstances which have been notoriously scattered throughout the United States, and are known to everybody. I have them. I claim I have the entire right to those letters, not only by natural right, but upon all the precedents and principles of law, as the man who held those letters in possession held them wrongfully. The committee that attempted to take those letters from that man for use against me proceeded wrongfully. They proceeded in all boldness to a most defiant violation of the ordinary private and personal rights which belong to every American citizen, and I was willing to stand and meet the Judiciary Committee on this floor. I wanted them to introduce it. I wanted the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Virginia to introduce that question upon this floor, but they did not do it.

Mr. KNOTT, (in his seat.) I know you did.

Mr. BLAINE. Very well.

Mr. KNOTT. I know you wanted to be made a martyr of. [Laughter.]

Mr. BLAINE. And you did not want to, and there is the difference. [Laughter and applause.] I go a little further: you did not dare to.

Mr. KNOTT. We will talk about that hereafter.

Mr. BLAINE. I wanted to meet that question. I wanted to invoke all the power you had in this House on that question.

Mr. HAMILTON, of New Jersey. I rise to a question of order. Is this language parliamentary?

Mr. BLAINE. Yes; entirely so. [Laughter.]

Mr. HAMILTON, of New Jersey. I do not ask the gentleman. I ask the Speaker. I call the gentleman to order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. HAMILTON, of New Jersey. I want to know whether it is in order for one gentleman on this floor to say to another he dare not do so and so?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from New Jersey calls the gentleman from Maine to order, and under the rules the gentleman from Maine will be seated, and if there be objectionable words, they will be taken down.

Mr. KASSON. I wish to say the point of order is simply to the use of the second person, and I hope gentlemen on both sides will use the third person.

Mr. BLAINE. I did not.

Mr. KASSON. You said "you."

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will say to gentlemen who have the privilege of the House, that this display of cheering is entirely out of order.

Mr. BLAINE. It never ought to be done, and never has been done so much as during this Congress.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will enforce the order, and the doorkeepers will assist the Chair, and, if necessary, the Sergeant-at-Arms under the rules will assist the doorkeepers. The gentleman from Maine will now proceed in order.

Mr. BLAINE. I repeat, the Judiciary Committee I understand have abandoned that issue against me. I stood up and declined not only on the conclusion of my own mind, but by eminent legal advice. I was standing behind the rights which belong to every American citizen, and if they wanted to treat the question in my person anywhere in the legislative halls or judicial halls, I was ready. Then there went forth everywhere the idea and

impression that because I would not permit that man or any man whom I could prevent from holding as a menace over my head my private correspondence there must be something in it most deadly and destructive to my reputation. I would like any gentleman on this floor—and all gentlemen on this floor are presumed to be men of affairs, whose business has been varied, whose intercourse has been large—I would like any gentleman to stand up here and tell me that he is willing and ready to have his private correspondence scanned over and made public for the last eight or ten years. I would like any gentleman to say that. Does it imply guilt? Does it imply wrongdoing? Does it imply any sense of weakness that a man will protect his private correspondence? No, sir; it is the first instinct to do it, and it is the last outrage upon any man to violate it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that I have defied the power of the House to compel me to produce those letters. I speak with all respect to this House. I know its powers, and I trust I respect them. But I say this House has no more power to order what shall be done or not done with my private correspondence than it has with what I shall do in the nurture and education of my children; not a particle. The right is as sacred in the one case as it is in the other. But, sir, having vindicated that right, standing by it, ready to make any sacrifice in the defense of it, here and now if any gentleman wants to take issue with me on behalf of this House I am ready for any extremity of contest or conflict in behalf of so sacred a right. And while I am so, I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God Almighty I am not ashamed to show them. There they are, [holding up a package of letters.] There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification that I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of 44,000,000 of my countrymen while I read those letters from this desk. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The doorkeepers will enforce the rule.

Mr. BLAINE. I beg gentlemen who are my friends to make no manifestation.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair has directed the doorkeepers to enforce the rule, and to remove from the Hall persons who are not entitled to its privileges who are making these manifestations.

Mr. KELLEY. I desire to say, Mr. Speaker, that so far as my observation extends the applause was within the bar of the House.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The doorkeepers are authorized to remove from the Hall any persons who violate its privileges.

Mr. BLAINE. Now as regards many of these letters I have not the slightest feeling in reading them. Some of them will require a little explanation. Some of them may possibly, as I have said, involve a feeling of humiliation. But I would a great deal rather take that than take the evil surmises and still more evil inferences which might be drawn if I did not act with this frankness.

The first letter I shall read, marked "private and personal," is as follows:

[Private and personal.]

AUGUSTA, MAINE, August 31, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: I have been absent so much of late that I did not receive your last letter until it was several days old. When I last wrote you I was expecting to be in Boston on a political conference about this time, but I found it impossible to be there, and it is now impossible for me to leave here until after our election, which occurs Monday week, the 9th. I will try to meet you at the Parker House on the 10th or 11th, availing myself of the first possible moment for that purpose.

I cannot, however, allow a remark in your letter to pass without comment. You say

that you have been trying to get a settlement with me for fifteen months, you have been trying to induce me to comply with certain demands which you made upon me, without taking into account any claims I have of a counter kind. This does not fill my idea of a *settlement*, for a *settlement* must include both sides.

No person could be more anxious for a settlement than I am, and if upon our next interview we cannot reach one, why then we try other means.

But my judgment is that I shall make you so liberal an offer of settlement that you cannot possibly refuse it.

As one of the elements which I wish to take into account is the note of \$10,000 given you in 1863 for Spencer stock, I desire that you will furnish me with the items of interest on that note. My impression is that when that note was consolidated into the large note, which you will still hold, that you did not charge me full interest, possibly omitting one or two years.

I will be obliged if you will give me information on this point, for I intend to submit to you a full and explicit basis of settlement, and in making it up it is necessary that I should have this information. Please send it as promptly as you may be able to give it to me.

In haste, very truly yours,

WARREN FISHER, Jr., Esq.

J. G. BLAINE.

There is an allusion there to Spencer stock. I took this letter up first because I wish to make an explanation as to that. In the month of November, 1861, I was summoned to Boston by a telegram to meet Mr. Fisher and another gentleman on some urgent business. I immediately responded. On getting there I found that they were the proprietors of a newly-invented rifle. The other gentleman was Mr. Ward Cheney, of Connecticut, recently deceased, well known for his eminence in the silk manufacture, and a gentleman of great wealth and high character. One of the ingenious mechanics in his employ named Spencer had invented a repeating rifle. It had been tested in various private ways, but it had not received the official sanction of the Government. They had employed various persons to come to Washington during the summer of 1861, the first of the war; but these various agents reported, and these gentlemen so reported to me, that what they called a gunning in Washington were so close and were so powerful that they could not get an opportunity to bring that new arm to the attention of the Secretary of War, the present venerable Senator from Pennsylvania, and they asked me if I thought I could do it. That was two years and more before I entered Congress.

I told them that I thought I could. And going back home and making preparations I immediately came to Washington, and in a very short time I had an interview with Secretary CAMERON at the War Department. He looked at the gun, was satisfied there was something in it, and gave an order to have it tested by the Ordnance Bureau. It was thoroughly tested, and in the course of two weeks the experiment was so satisfactory that they gave a preliminary order for 20,000 rifles. It was of course, as every gentleman who is familiar with the war knows, a most eminent success. It was one of the wonderful arms of the war: the Spencer rifle.

The company immediately proceeded to erect an armory in Boston, but, with all that ingenuity and capital could do, they did not produce, as every gentleman on this floor who was familiar with the operations of the war knows, half as many arms as the service wanted. They paid me not an extravagant but a moderate fee for that service, which I was then as much at liberty to take as any lawyer or agent on this floor would be in his private relations at home. I was not in Congress, was not nominated to Congress, was not here for two years afterward.

The winter afterward, or next spring, Mr. Fisher and Mr. Cheney, both together, offered me \$10,000 stock in the concern, and I took it,

A MEMBER. And paid for it?

Mr. BLAINE. Yes, of course; and paid for it, and owned, and had the dividends on it. I made no concealment of it. But I never was at the War Department about in any shape or form in my life. Now, if the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GLOVER] wants to investigate that case I will save him all the trouble. I will just cut that short. If he wants the list of stockholders, why they are all private citizens, and very respectable ones, and the corporation is dissolved, dead, merged in the Winchester Rifle Company. I will give him all the trail there is to the whole story, and he can strike it and follow it out. The whole story, that I had so much per gun as a royalty of any sort, is simply absurd. I was an ordinary stockholder, just as a man is in a bank. A gentleman asks me if I paid for this stock. I tell him yes, I did, emphatically. The truth is the Department was only too anxious to urge in every direction to have these guns manufactured.

I take these letters up quite miscellaneous. The next is dated Augusta, Maine, August 9, 1872:

[Personal.]

AUGUSTA, MAINE, *August 9, 1872.*

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: On my return home yesterday I found your favor of 6th from Stonington, asking for my notes, \$6,000, on account. It seems to me that a partial settlement of our matter would only lead to future trouble, or at all events to a mere postponement of our present difficulties.

I deem it highly desirable that we should have a conclusive and comprehensive settlement, and I have been eager for that these many months.

The account which you stated June 20, 1872, does not correspond precisely with the reckoning I have made of my indebtedness on the note you hold. You credit me, April 26, 1869, with \$12,500 dividend from Spencer Company; but there were two subsequent dividends, one of \$3,750, the other of \$5,800, of which no mention is made in your statement, though I received in June, 1870, your check for \$2,700 or \$2,800, which was a part of these dividends, I believe. I think my "cash memorandum" of June 25, 1869, for \$2,500, with which you charge me, represented at the time a part of the dividends; but being debited with that, I am entitled to a credit of the dividend.

In other words, as I reckon it, there are dividends amounting to \$9,550 due me, with interest since June, 1870, of which I have received only \$2,700 or \$2,800, entitling me thus to a credit of some \$7,500.

Besides the cash memorandum January 9, 1864, \$600, which with interest amounts to \$904.10, was obviously included in the consolidated note which was given to represent all my indebtedness to you and which you repeatedly assured me would be met and liquidated in good time by Spencer dividends.

You will thus see that we differ materially as to the figures. Of course each of us is aiming at precisely the facts of the case, and if I am wrong, please correct me. I am sure that you do not desire me to pay a dollar that is not due, and I am equally sure that I am more than ready to pay every cent that I owe you.

The Little Rock matter is a perpetual and never-ending embarrassment to me. I am pressed daily almost to make final settlement with those who still hold the securities—a settlement I am not able to make until I receive the bonds due on your article of agreement with me. That is to me by far the most urgent and pressing of all the demands connected with our matters, and the one which I think in all equity should be first settled, or certainly settled as soon as any.

If the \$6,000 cash is so important to you, I would be glad to assist in raising the same for you on your notes, using Little Rock bonds as collateral at same rate they are used in Boston, four for one. I think I could get the money here on four or six months on these terms. If I had the money myself, I would be glad to advance it to you, but I am as dry as a contribution-box, borrowing indeed to defray my campaign expenses.

Very sincerely, yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

WARREN FISHER, Jr., Esq., *Boston.*

That is a very important communication to the American people.

The next letter I hold is dated Augusta, Maine, July 3, 1872. The witness Mulligan said that there was nothing in this about the Northern Pacific Railroad,

AUGUSTA, MAINE, July 3, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: I was detained far beyond my expectations in New York and Pennsylvania, being there quite a week. I was in Boston on Monday *en route* home, but I was so prostrated by the heat that I had no strength or energy to call on you.

It seems to me, as I review and recall our several conferences, that we ought not to have any trouble in coming to an easy adjustment, as follows: First, I am ready to fulfill the memorandum held by you in regard to the Northern Pacific Railroad, as I always have been; second, you are ready to consider the land bonds in my possession as surrendered in payment of the debt to which they were originally held as collateral; third, I am ready to pay you the full amount of cash due you on memoranda held by you provided you will pay me half the amount of bonds due me on memoranda held by me, the cash to be paid and the bonds to be delivered at same time. As to further sale of the share in Northern Pacific Railroad, that could be determined afterward. I am ready to do all in my power to oblige you in the matter.

If we can adjust the first and second points herein referred to, the third might be left, if you desire it, to the future.

Hitherto I have made all the propositions of settlement. If this is not acceptable to you, please submit your views of a fair basis in writing.

Sincerely yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

WARREN FISHER, Jr., Esq.

That letter calls for no special comment. Now, any one who hears this letter will observe that there was a dispute between the parties that ran over a very considerable period, and here is a letter in which he asks me to get him a letter of credit for \$10,000 from Jay Cooke & Co., of this city. My answer, dated Washington, D. C., April 26, 1872, as follows:

WASHINGTON, April 26.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: Yours of 24th received. There seems to be one great error of fact under which you are laboring in regard to my ability to comply with your request about the \$10,000 letter of credit. I would gladly get it for you if I were able; but I have not the means. I have no power of getting a letter of credit from Jay Cooke except by paying the money for it, and the money I have not got, and have no means of getting it. *You ask me to do therefore what is simply impossible.* Nothing would give me more pleasure than to serve you if I were able; but my losses in the Fort Smith affair have entirely crippled me and deranged all my finances. You would, I know, be utterly amazed if you could see the precise experience I have had in that matter. Very bitter, I assure you. Among other things, I still owe nearly all of the \$25,000 which I delivered to Mr. Pratt, and this is most harassing and embarrassing to me.

If you will give me the \$76,500 of bonds which I propose to throw off as payment of the notes which you say I owe you, I will gladly get your ten-thousand-dollar letter of credit; but if I release those bonds to you as I propose, you can do the same for yourself.

I am at a loss to know what you mean by your repeated phrase that "*I have denied everything.*" *What have I denied?* I do not so much as understand what you mean, and would be glad to have you explain.

You reject the name of Ward Cheney as a friendly referee. Please suggest a name yourself of some one known to both of us. I mean for you to suggest a name in case you do not accept my basis of settlement proposed in my last letter preceding this.

Yours, very truly,

J. G. BLAINE.

WARREN FISHER, Jr., Esq.

When do you propose to sail for Europe?

Some of these letters were written by the gentleman who sits on my right and who was my clerk during my Speakership, acting as my amanuensis.

Here is a letter dated April 22, 1872, again showing the accuracy of the witness Mulligan, who said that it contained no allusion to the Northern Pacific Railroad:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 22, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: Your brief note received. I do not know what you mean by my "not mentioning Northern Pacific and denying everything else."

You have my obligation to deliver to you a specified interest in Northern Pacific which I was to purchase for you, and in which I never had a penny's interest—direct or indi-

rect. Some months ago you wrote me (twice) declaring that you would not receive the share, but demanding the return of the money. This was impossible, and I therefore could do nothing but wait.

Nothing I could write would make my obligation plainer than the memorandum you hold. Nothing you could write would change my obligation under that memorandum.

The matters between us are all perfectly plain and simple, and I am ready to settle them all comprehensively and liberally. I am not willing to settle those that benefit you and leave to the chances of the future those that benefit me.

I am willing to forego and give up a great deal for the sake of a friendly settlement, and I retain a copy of this letter as evidence of the spirit of the offer I make. I think, if we cannot settle ourselves, a friendly reference would be the best channel, and I propose Mr. Ward Cheney, who stands nearer to you certainly than he does to me. If this name does not suit you, please suggest one yourself.

Very sincerely, yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

WARREN FISHER, Jr.

Here is one dated Washington, May 26, 1864.

This correspondence, you will observe, stretches over a considerable march of time, and this refers to the Spencer Rifle Company:

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor received. I am very glad, all things considered, that the Government has accepted your proposition to take all your manufacture till 1st September, 1865. It gives a straight and steady business for the company for a good stretch of time.

In regard to the tax provision you can judge for yourself, as I send herewith a copy of the bill as reported from the Finance Committee of the Senate and now pending in that body—see pages 148, 149, where I have marked. In looking over the bill you will please observe that all words in italic letters are amendments proposed by the Senate Finance Committee, while all words included in brackets are proposed to be struck out by same committee.

The provision which you inquire about was not in the original bill, but was an amendment moved from the Ways and Means Committee by Mr. KASSON, of Iowa, to whom I suggested it. It is just and proper in every sense, and will affect a good many interests, including your company. I am glad to hear such good accounts of your progress in the affairs of the company, of which I have always been proud to be a member.

Tell Mr. Welles that his brother has been nominated by the Senate for commissary of subsistence, with rank of captain. He will undoubtedly be confirmed as soon as his case can be reached. I will advise as soon as it is done.

In haste, yours, truly,

J. G. BLAINE.

WARREN FISHER, Jr., Esq.

I have looked up the provision which the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. KASSON] moved, and it was this: that where the Government had contracted for the delivery of a specific article of manufacture, and after the contract was made with the Government, an additional tax was levied on that article, the Government should stand the loss, and not the seller. The gentleman from Iowa understands the point.

Mr. KASSON. I do remember the fact of the amendment.

Mr. BLAINE. It is a very simple matter; in fact all the manufacturing interests in the United States where contracts were made were interested in it, and where new tax bills were passed every few months.

The next letter to which I refer was dated Washington, District of Columbia, April 18, 1872.

This is the letter in which Mulligan says and puts down in his abstract that I admitted the sixty-four-thousand-dollar sale of bonds:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: I answered you very hastily last evening, as you said you wished an immediate reply; and perhaps in my hurry I did not make myself fully understood.

You have been for some time laboring under a totally erroneous impression in regard to my results in the Fort Smith matter. The sales of bonds which you spoke of my making, and which you seem to have thought were for my own benefit, were entirely otherwise. I did not have the money in my possession forty-eight hours, but paid it over directly to the parties whom I tried by every means in my power to protect from loss. I am very sure that you have little idea of the labors, the losses, the efforts, and the sacrifices I have made within the past year to save those innocent persons, who invested on my request, from personal loss.

And I say to you to-night solemnly that I am immeasurably worse off than if I had never touched the Fort Smith matter.

The demand you make upon me now is one which I am entirely unable to comply with. *I cannot do it. It is not in my power.* You say that "necessity knows no law." That applies to me as well as to you, and when I have reached the point I am now at I simply fall back on that law. You are as well aware as I am that the bonds are due me under the contract. Could I have these, I could adjust many matters not now in my power, and so long as this and other matters remain unadjusted between us I do not recognize the equity or the lawfulness of your calling on me for a partial settlement. I am ready at any moment to make a full, fair, comprehensive settlement with you on the most liberal terms. I will not be exacting or captious or critical, but am ready and eager to make a broad and generous adjustment with you, and if we can't agree ourselves, we can select a mutual friend who can easily compromise all points of difference between us.

You will, I trust, see that I am disposed to meet you in a spirit of friendly cordiality, and yet with a sense of self-defense that impels me to be frank and expose to you my pecuniary weakness.

With very kind regards to Mrs. Fisher, I am yours truly,

J. G. BLAINE.

W. FISHER, Jr., Esq.

I now pass to a letter dated Augusta, Maine, October 4, 1869, but I read these letters now somewhat in their order. Now, to this letter I ask the attention of the House. In the March session of 1869, the first one at which I was Speaker, the extra session of the Forty-first Congress, a land grant in the State of Arkansas to the Little Rock road was reported. I never remember to have heard of the road until at the last night of the session, when it was up here for consideration. The gentleman in Boston with whom I had relations did not have anything to do with that road for nearly three or four months after that time. It is in the light of that statement that I desire that letter read.

In the autumn, six or eight months afterward, I was looking over the Globe, probably with some little curiosity if not pride, to see the decisions I had made the first five weeks I was Speaker. I had not until then recalled this decision of mine, and when I came across it all the facts came back to me fresh, and I wrote this letter:

[Personal.]

AUGUSTA, MAINE, October 4, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR: I spoke to you a short time ago about a point of interest to your railroad company that occurred at the last session of Congress.

It was on the last night of the session, when the bill renewing the land grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock road was reached, and Julian, of Indiana, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and, by right, entitled to the floor, attempted to put on the bill, as an amendment, the Frémont El Paso scheme—a scheme probably well known to Mr. Caldwell. The House was thin and the lobby in the Frémont interest had the thing all set up, and Julian's amendment was likely to prevail if brought to a vote. Roots and the other members from Arkansas who were doing their best for their own bill (to which there seemed to be no objection) were in despair, for it was well known that the Senate was hostile to the Frémont scheme, and if the Arkansas bill had gone back to the Senate with Julian's amendment the whole thing would have gone on the table and slept the sleep of death.

In this dilemma Roots came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules; for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that Julian's amendment was entirely out of order, because not germane; but he had not sufficient confidence in his knowledge of the rules to make the point, but he said General LOGAN was opposed to the Frémont scheme, and would probably make the point, I sent

my page to General LOGAN with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it; and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment moved by Julian, and at once passed without objection.

At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it I did him a great favor.

Sincerely yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

W. FISHER, Jr., Esq.,
24 India Street, Boston.

The amendment referred to in that letter will be found in the Congressional Globe of the first session of the Forty-first Congress, page 702. That was before the Boston persons had ever touched the road.

Mr. JULIAN. I offer the following as an additional section to the bill.

And then the Clerk read the whole of the El Paso bill.

Mr. LOGAN. I rise to a question of order, that this amendment is not germane to the pending bill. The bill is to revive a certain land grant and to extend the time, while the amendment is another charter for a Pacific railroad, authorizing the building of bridges, granting the right of way and everything else of the sort. I have been in favor of the pending Arkansas bill, but I do not wish to be made to carry this Pacific railroad bill. I do not think the amendment is in order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair sustains the point of order for two reasons. It is expressly prohibited by the rule that where a land grant is under consideration another grant to a different company shall be entertained. This is not a specific land grant, but it does give away the public land of the United States so far as to give the right of way. Again, by the rules no proposition upon a subject different from that under consideration can be admitted under color of amendment.

Therefore the amendment was out of order on either ground. If it was a land grant, of course it was out of order, because no land grant could be attached to another; and if not a land grant, it was out of order, because it was attempting to introduce a different subject under color of amendment. Therefore in either way the amendment was excluded.

Mr. FRYE. At the time that ruling was made did you have any interest whatever in this railroad?

Mr. BLAINE. Never had, and never expected to have; never remembered to have heard of it at that time.

Mr. FRYE. Did you know or expect any personal friend of yours to have any interest in that road?

Mr. BLAINE. None in the world, not the slightest, never had heard of it. And I want to say, (and the interruption by my colleague [Mr. FRYE] enables me to do so,) that what I did in that case, and every occupant of the chair will bear me out in the statement, is what is very frequently done by the Speaker. It was helping a member in that direction, nothing in it unusual, nothing extraordinary at all. Only by wresting it from its connection and giving it an evil construction could I be said at that time to have had the slightest possible interest in this road. But I never remembered that night to have heard of this road, and it was only three or four months afterward that these Boston parties themselves, with whom I was interested, took any interest in it. On the same day I wrote another letter:

AUGUSTA, October 4, 1869.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: Find inclosed contracts of the parties named in my letter of yesterday. The remaining contracts will be completed as rapidly as circumstances will permit.

I inclose you a part of the Congressional Globe of April 9, containing the point to which I referred at some length in my previous letter of to-day. You will find it of interest to read it over and see what a narrow escape your bill made on that last night of the

session. Of course it was my plain duty to make the ruling when the point was once raised. If the Arkansas men had not, however, happened to come to me when at their wits' end and in despair, the bill would undoubtedly have been lost, or at least postponed for a year. I thought the point would interest both you and Caldwell, though occurring before either of you engaged in the enterprise.

I beg you to understand that I thoroughly appreciate the courtesy with which you have treated me in this railroad matter; but your conduct toward me in business matters has always been marked by unbounded liberality in past years, and of course I have naturally come to expect the same of you now. You urge me to make as much as I fairly can out of the arrangement into which we have entered. It is natural that I should do my utmost to this end. I am bothered only by one thing, and that is definite and expressed arrangement with Mr. Caldwell. I am anxious to acquire the interest he has promised me, but I do not get a definite understanding with him as I have with you.

I shall be in Boston in a few days and shall then have an opportunity to talk the matter over fully with you. I am disposed to think that whatever I do with Mr. Caldwell must really be done through you.

Kind regards to Mrs. Fisher.

Sincerely,

J. G. BLAINE.

W. F., Jr., Esq.

Then in July I wrote this letter; they began then to speak of the road:

AUGUSTA, MAINE, *July 2d, 1869.*

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: You ask me if I am satisfied with the offer you make me of a share in your new railroad enterprise.

Of course I am more than satisfied with the terms of the offer. I think it a most liberal proposition.

If I hesitate at all, it is from considerations no way connected with the character of the offer. Your liberal mode of dealing with me in all our business transactions of the past eight years has not passed without my full appreciation. What I wrote you on the 29th was intended to bring Caldwell to a definite proposition. That was all.

I go to Boston by same train that carries this letter, and will call at your office to-morrow at twelve m. If you don't happen to be in, no matter. Don't put yourself to any trouble about it.

Yours,

J. G. B.

W. FISHER, Jr.

Here is a letter which was written just before that:

AUGUSTA, *June 29, 1869.*

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: I thank you for the article from Mr. Lewis. It is good in itself, and will do good. He writes like a man of large intelligence and comprehension.

Your offer to admit me to a participation in the new railroad enterprise is in every respect as generous as I could expect or desire. I thank you very sincerely for it, and in this connection I wish to make a suggestion of a somewhat selfish character. It is this: You spoke of Mr. Caldwell disposing of a share of his interest to me. If he really designs to do so, I wish he would make the proposition definite, so that I could know just what to depend on. Perhaps if he waits till the full development of the enterprise he might grow reluctant to part with the share; and I do not by this mean any distrust of him.

I do not feel that I shall prove a dead-head in the enterprise if I once embark in it. I see various channels in which I know I can be useful.

Very hastily and sincerely, your friend,

J. G. BLAINE.

MR. FISHER,

India street, Boston.

MR. FRYE. I desire to ask my colleague if the trade which is alluded to there between him and Mr. Caldwell, called a share, or scheme, or something of that kind, was ever entered into between him and Mr. Caldwell?

MR. BLAINE. It was not. That was a proposition to sell me a share in what was called the bed-rock of the road, to let me be interested in the building of it. That transaction was never consummated. All that I ever had to

do with the road was this most unfortunate transaction of my life, pecuniarily and otherwise, in buying and selling some of the bonds.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1870.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: I think on the whole I had better not insist on the \$40,000 additional bonds at same rate. My engagement was not *absolute*, and I can back out of it with honor. I would rather do this than seem to be exacting or indelicate.

Besides, I have always felt that Mr. Caldwell manifested the most gentlemanly spirit toward me, and designed to treat me handsomely in the end. On the whole, therefore, I shall be better off perhaps to let things remain as they are. But I will follow your judgment in this matter if I can find what it is.

Very hastily,

J. G. BLAINE.

W. FISHER, Esq.

AUGUSTA, October 1, 1871.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: I am doing all in my power to expedite and hasten the delivery of that stock. The delay has been occasioned by circumstances wholly beyond my control. But I shall reach a conclusion within a few days and make the formal delivery then. It will be an immense relief to get it off my hands, I assure you; far greater than it will be for you to receive it.

You must have strangely misunderstood Mr. Caldwell in regard to his paying those notes. He has paid me in all just \$6,000, leaving \$19,000 due, which I am carrying here at 8 and 8½ per cent. interest, and which embarrasses me beyond all imagination. I do not really know which way to turn for relief, I am so pressed and hampered. The Little Rock and Fort Smith matter has been a sore experience to me, and if you and Mr. Caldwell between you cannot pay me the \$19,000 of borrowed money, I don't know what I shall do. Politically I am charged with being a wealthy man. Personally and pecuniarily I am laboring under the most fearful embarrassments, and the greatest of all these embarrassments is the \$19,000 which I handed over under your orders, and not one dollar of which I have received. Of the \$25,000 original debt Mr. Caldwell has paid \$6,000, and \$6,000 only. Can you not give me some hope of relief in this matter? It is cruel beyond measure to leave me so exposed and so suffering.

You know my profound regard for you and my faith in you. We have been friends too long and too intimately to allow a shade between us now.

Yours truly,

J. G. BLAINE.

That will surprise a great many people.

AUGUSTA, MAINE, October 4, 1871.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: You must have strangely misunderstood Mr. Caldwell's statement in regard to his paying me all but \$2,500 of the \$25,000 borrowed money which I loaned the company through him and you last January. Mr. Caldwell paid me in June \$3,500, and in July \$2,500 more, accepting at same time a draft for \$2,500, July 10. ten days, which draft remains unpaid. I have therefore received but \$6,000 from Mr. Caldwell, leaving \$19,000 (besides interest) due me to-day.

For this \$19,000 I am individually held, and, considering all the circumstances, I think you and Mr. Caldwell should regard it as an honorary debt, and you should not allow me to suffer for money which I raised under the peculiar circumstances attending this. It is a singularly hard and oppressive case, the features and facts of which are familiar to you and Mr. Caldwell.

And then, again, I have been used with positive cruelty in regard to the bonds.

I have your positive written contract to deliver me \$125,000 land bonds and \$32,500 first-mortgage bonds. The money due you on the contract was all paid nearly a year and a half ago. Of this whole amount of bonds due me I have received but \$50,000 land grants, leaving \$75,000 of those and \$32,500 first mortgage still due. I know you are pressed and in trouble, and I don't wish to be too exacting; rather I wish to be very liberal in settlement.

Now, I make this offer: Pay me the cash due on the borrowed money account; call it \$19,000 in round numbers, and \$40,000 land bonds, and we will call it square.

Mr. Caldwell has repeatedly assured me that I should be paid all the bonds due me under contracts with you, and outside of that \$20,000 due me from him. I now voluntarily offer to make a very large reduction if I can have the matter closed.

I am without doubt the only person who has paid money for bonds without receiving them, and I think you will agree with me that I have fared pretty roughly. It would be an immense, immeasurable relief to me if I could receive the money in time to pay off the indebtedness here within the next six weeks, so that I can go to Washington this win-

ter with the load taken off my shoulders. It was placed there in the fullest faith and confidence that you and Mr. Caldwell would not let me suffer. I still cling to that faith and confidence. You will much oblige me by showing this letter to Mr. Caldwell.

Yours, very truly,

J. G. BLAINE.

W. FISHER, Jr., Esq., Boston.

I will inform gentlemen for their benefit, especially those who are so eager to search the records of the circuit court at Little Rock, Arkansas, that it was this \$25,000 which I recovered through the courts of Arkansas; I think it was the first of May this spring.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. FISHER: I have your favor of the 12th. I am not prepared to pay any money just now in any direction, being so cramped and pressed that I am absolutely unable to do so. Please send me a copy of the notes of mine held by you with indorsed payments thereon.

I would have been glad, instead of a demand upon me for payment of notes, if you had proposed a general settlement of all matters between us that remain unadjusted. There is still due to me on articles of agreement between us \$70,000 in land bonds and \$31,000 in first-mortgage bonds, making \$101,000 in all. For these bonds the money was paid you nearly three years ago, and every other party agreeing to take bonds on same basis has long since received its full quota. I alone am left hopeless and helpless, so far as I can see. Then there is the \$25,000 which I borrowed and paid over, under your orders, to Mr. Pratt, for which I have received no pay. Mr. Caldwell paid me a small fraction of the amount as I supposed, but he now says the money he paid me must be credited to another account on which he was my debtor, and that he denies all responsibility, past, present, and future, on the \$25,000, for payment of which I must, he says, look solely to you. I only know that I delivered the money to Mr. Pratt on your written order. I still owe the money in Maine, and am carrying the greater part of it at 8 per cent.—nearly \$2,000 per annum steady draw on my resources, which are slender enough without this burden.

Still further, I left with Mr. Mulliken, January, 1871, \$6,000 in land-grant bonds Union Pacific Railroad, to be exchanged for a like amount of Little Rock land bonds with Mr. Caldwell, he to change back when I desired. Mr. Caldwell declined to take them, and you took them without any negotiation with me or any authority from me in regard to the matter. You placed the Little Rock land bonds in the envelope, and I have the original envelope with Mr. Mulliken's indorsement thereon of the fact of the delivery to you. Now, I do not complain of your taking the bonds, provided you hold yourself bound to replace them. The worst of the whole matter was that the bonds were only a part mine, and I have had to make good the others to the original owner.

There are other matters to which I would refer; but my letter is already long.

I do not think, under the circumstances, it would be quite wise or kind in you to place any note or notes of mine that may happen to be in your possession in the hands of third parties as collateral.

In any event I ask as a simple favor that you will not do so, and that you will send me by return mail a copy of all obligations of mine in your possession.

Mrs. Blaine joins me in very kind regards to Mrs. Fisher and in the expression of the hope that you may have a pleasant and profitable tour in Europe.

Sincerely yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

WARREN FISHER, Jr., Esq.

There is mentioned in this letter \$6,000 of land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad for which I stood as only part owner; they were only in part mine. As I have started out to make a personal explanation, I want to make a full explanation in regard to this matter. Those bonds were not mine except in this sense: In 1869 a lady who is a member of my family and whose financial affairs I have looked after for many years—many gentlemen will know to whom I refer without my being more explicit—bought on the recommendation of Mr. Samuel Hooper \$6,000 in land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad as they were issued in 1869. She got them on what was called the stockholder's basis; I think it was a very favorable basis on which they distributed these bonds. These \$6,000 of land-grant bonds were obtained in that way.

In 1871 the Union Pacific Railroad Company broke down, and these bonds fell so that they were worth about forty cents on the dollar. She was anxious to make herself safe ; and I had so much confidence in the Fort Smith land bonds that I proposed to her to make an exchange. The six bonds were in my possession ; and I had previously advanced money to her for certain purposes and held a part of these bonds as security for that advance. The bonds in that sense, and in that sense only, were mine—that they were security for the loan which I had made. They were all literally hers ; they were all sold finally on her account—not one of them for me. I make this statement in order to be perfectly fair.

I have now read those fifteen letters, the whole of them. The House and the country now know all there is in them. They are dated and they correspond precisely with Mulligan's memorandum, which I have here. I keep this memorandum as a protection to myself ; for it is very valuable as showing the identity of the letters in every respect.

Mr. GLOVER. Will the gentleman allow that memorandum to be read?

Mr. BLAINE. Wait just a moment. There was a contract also among these—the same that was put in evidence by Mulligan—of the parties in Maine who bought Little Rock bonds. I only refer to that because it is the same in every respect with that which has already been made public. He also testified to something as being among Mr. Fisher's papers about the Northern Pacific Railroad. That makes eighteen papers. I will put them all in ; let them all go.

Mr. HALE. Does the exhibit which the gentleman has made cover every paper of every kind whatever that came from Mulligan?

Mr. BLAINE. Every solitary scrap and "scrimption," as the children say. (These papers will be appended in a foot-note to these remarks.)

Mr. GLOVER. Will the gentleman from Maine now respond to the request I made, that the memorandum of Mr. Mulligan be read at the Clerk's desk?

Mr. BLAINE. O, yes ; I shall be glad to have it read.

The Clerk read as follows :

No. 1. Oct. 4, '69, relating to debate in the House and Blaine's ruling, and favors he was to receive from C. for pressing bill extending time on first 20 miles.

Mr. BLAINE. This is what Mr. Mulligan puts down as the substance of the letters.

The Clerk continued the reading, as follows :

No. 2. Oct. 4, '69, on same subject.

No. 3. June 27, '69, thanking Fisher for admitting him to participation in L. & F. R. R., and urging him to make call ; say how much he would give him, and for what. He knew he would be no dead-head, but would render valuable assistance.

No. 4. July 25, '69, on the same subject.

No. 5. Sept 5, '69. contract with different parties.

No. 6. Contract with Northern Pacific.

No. 7. May 14, '70, Caldwell designs to treat him handsomely in the end.

No. 8. Oct. 24, '71, Fisher to Blaine, urging settlement of N. P. R. account, \$25,000.

Mr. BLAINE. There was no such letter in the package. The letter he speaks of seems to have been a letter from Mr. Fisher to myself. There was no such letter in the package ; and the numbers he gives do not call for it. There are fifteen letters and three pieces of paper. At any rate that was not a letter from me.

The Clerk continued the reading as follows :

No. 9. Oct. 4, '71. Blaine admits that there was \$6,000 paid on the \$25,000 loan and to have received \$50,000 from Fisher.

No. 10. Oct. 1, '71, admits being paid \$6,000 on account of loan.

Mr. BLAINE sold sundry parties \$125,000 in first-mortgage bonds, and common stock \$125,000, preferred stock \$125,000; for which was paid by them \$125,000 cash; and Mr. BLAINE was to receive for his share of the transaction \$125,000 in land-grant bonds, and \$32,500 in first-mortgage bonds. Total, \$157,500.

Now, calling land and first-mortgage bonds equal in value, and stock valueless for \$125,000 plus \$157,000 equals \$282,000 bonds; cash \$25,000 equals $44\frac{25}{100}$ per cent.

Mr. BLAINE also sold sundry parties \$63,000 bonds and \$56,000 stock for cash \$43,150.

\$15,150 less cash paid Mr. BLAINE for his share in the transaction.

\$28,000 net cash received by Mr. Fisher for the above \$63,000 bonds and \$56,000 stock, equal $44\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. for the bonds, calling stock nothing.

Mr. BLAINE, in final settlement, Sept. 21, 1872, claimed only \$101,000 bonds due Dec. letter, (Dec. 8, '72;) he previously received \$61,000, and was to look to Caldwell for balance.

Sept. 21, '72, received \$40,000.

No. 11. April 13, 1872, saying there was \$101,000 bonds due him, and claiming that there was due him on Union Pacific bonds exchanged \$6,000, and admitting that there were some of them his own.

No. 12. Apl. 18, 1872, admits the \$64,000 sale bonds, and paid the money over in forty-eight hours to Maine parties.

Mr. BLAINE. See the abstract that he makes :

Admits the \$64,000 sale bonds, and paid the money over in forty-eight hours to Maine parties.

There is not a word said about it in the letter.

The Clerk continued and concluded the reading, as follows :

No. 13. Aug. 9, '72, as dry financially as a contribution-box, and borrowing money to defray his campaign expenses.

No. 14. Aug. 31, '72, about settlement.

No. 15. May 26, '64, says he was a partner in the Spencer Rifle Co.

Mr. BLAINE. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would be glad to have any gentleman who desires to be frank examine these letters, as they will be printed in the RECORD, and see the obvious intent and animus of Mulligan in making up this memorandum; I will not further comment on it. I desire to call attention to the fact that these are the letters for which I was ready to commit "suicide," and do sundry and divers other desperate things in order to acquire them.

I do not wish to detain the House, but I have one or two more observations to make. The specific charge that went to the committee of which the honorable gentleman from Virginia is chairman, so far as it affects me, was whether I was a party in interest to the sixty-four-thousand-dollar transaction; and I submit that up to this time there has not been one particle of proof before the committee sustaining that charge. Gentlemen have said what they had heard somebody else say, and generally when that somebody else was brought on the stand it appeared that he did not say it at all. Colonel Thomas A. Scott swore very positively and distinctly under the most rigid cross-examination all about it. Let me call attention to that letter of mine which Mulligan says refers to that. I ask your attention, gentlemen, as closely as if you were a jury while I show the absurdity of that statement. It is in evidence that with the exception of a small fraction the bonds which were sold to parties in Maine were first-mortgaged bonds. It is in evidence over and over again that the bonds which went to the Union Pacific road were land-grant bonds. Therefore it is a moral impossibility the bonds taken up to Maine should have gone to the Union Pacific Railroad. They were of different series, different kinds, different colors, everything different, as

different as if not issued within a thousand miles of each other. So on its face it is shown it could not be so.

There has not been, I say, one positive piece of testimony in any direction. They sent to Arkansas to get some hearsay about bonds. They sent to Boston to get some hearsay. Mulligan was contradicted by Fisher, and Atkins and Scott swore directly against him. Morton, of Morton, Bliss & Co., never heard my name in the matter. Carnegie, who negotiated the note, never heard my name in that connection. Rollins said it was one of the intangible rumors he spoke of as floating in the air. Gentlemen who have lived any time in Washington need not be told that intangible rumors get considerable circulation here; and if a man is to be held accountable before the bar of public opinion for intangible rumors, who in the House will stand?

Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask gentlemen if any of you, and I ask it with some feeling, can stand a severer scrutiny of or more rigid investigation into your private correspondence? That was the worst he could do.

There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the Judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transaction, was asked to send a cable dispatch, and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if that dispatch was sent to him?

Mr. FRYE. Who?

Mr. BLAINE. To Josiah Caldwell.

Mr. KNOTT. I will reply to the gentleman that Judge HUNTON and myself have both endeavored to get Mr. Caldwell's address and have not yet got it.

Mr. BLAINE. Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a dispatch from Caldwell?

Mr. KNOTT. I will explain that directly.

Mr. BLAINE. I want a categorical answer.

Mr. KNOTT. I have received a dispatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell.

Mr. BLAINE. You did?

Mr. KNOTT. How did you know I got it?

Mr. BLAINE. When did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it.

Mr. KNOTT. Answer my question first.

Mr. BLAINE. I never heard of it until yesterday.

Mr. KNOTT. How did you hear it?

Mr. BLAINE. I heard you got a dispatch last Thursday morning at eight o'clock from Josiah Caldwell completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge, and you have suppressed it. [Protracted applause upon the floor and in the galleries.] I want the gentleman to answer. [After a pause.] Does the gentleman from Kentucky decline to answer?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will suspend until order is restored. The doorkeepers will remove from the Hall those not entitled to the floor; and the galleries will be cleared if this applause is repeated. So long as the present occupant is in the chair that rule will be enforced.

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker, I ask to offer the following resolution as a matter of privilege in this connection,

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Maine will suspend until order is restored. The Chair is not responsible for this disorder, and the doorkeepers have failed to keep out men not authorized to come into the Hall. There are in this Hall those not members double the number of members. The doorkeepers will enforce the rules of the House. Those who are not entitled to the floor will leave it. Members of the House will be seated. [After a pause.] The gentleman from Maine will proceed.

Mr. BLAINE. I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer me, or rather to answer the House, that question.

Mr. KNOTT. I will answer that when I get ready. Go on with your speech.

Mr. BLAINE. I desire to offer the following resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to report forthwith to the House whether in acting under the resolution of the House of May 2, relative to the purchase by the Pacific Railroad Company of seventy-five land-grant bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, it has sent any telegram to one Josiah Caldwell, in Europe, and received a reply thereto. And, if so, to report said telegram and reply, with the date when said reply was received, and the reasons why the same has been suppressed.

Mr. BLAINE. After that add, "or whether they have heard from Josiah Caldwell in any way." Just add those words, "and what." Give it to me and I will modify it.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will read the modification of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

And whether they have heard from the said Josiah Caldwell, in any other way, and to what effect.

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman from Kentucky in responding probably, I think, from what he said, intended to convey the idea I had some illegitimate knowledge of how that dispatch was obtained. I have had no communication with Josiah Caldwell. I have had no means of knowing from the telegraph office whether the telegram was received. But I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that murder will out.

Mr. GLOVER. That is true.

Mr. BLAINE. And secrets will leak. And I tell the gentleman now, and I am prepared to state to this House, that at eight o'clock on last Thursday morning, or thereabouts, the gentleman from Kentucky received and receipted for a message addressed to him from Josiah Caldwell, in London, entirely corroborating and substantiating the statements of Thomas A. Scott, which he had just read in the New York papers, and entirely exculpating me from the charges which I am bound to believe from the suppression of that report the gentleman is anxious to fasten upon me.

I call the previous question on that resolution.

[Protracted applause from the floor and the galleries.]

Foot-note.—Papers I, J, and K, found with the letters surrendered by Mulligan, are hereto appended. The papers relating to the Northern Pacific road are not remembered by Mr. BLAINE; the handwriting is not known to him, and he can recall no connection with them in any respect. They are, however, quite unimportant.

I.

Cost of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 share, \$466,667, is.....	\$58,333
$\frac{1}{2}$ of \$416,667, to receive in bonds, is at par \$52,083, at 90 c., would be	46,875
	11,458

for which you will get $\frac{1}{2}$ of 541,234 stock, which is \$67,654; and when the road is finished you will get $\frac{1}{2}$ of 3,416,708, which is 427,088 in stock, beside your interest in the Land Company, which is proportionate. Bonds at par would make the above amount of stock cost about \$6,250.

J.

Whereas, under certain agreements with the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, dated May 20, 1869, and January 1, 1870, Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co. have become fiscal agents for the negotiations of the securities of said company upon the terms therein stated; and whereas, under said agreements, Jay Cooke & Co. become possessed of twelve of the twenty-four interests constituting the company and representing its franchises; and whereas Jay Cooke & Co. for the purpose of furnishing funds under their agreements as fiscal agents, for the construction and equipment of the road from its intersection with the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad to the Red River, near the mouth of the Cheyenne, a distance of about two hundred and twenty-five miles, forming a complete road from Lake Superior to the Red River, have offered to the subscribers for the first five millions of dollars of the first-mortgage bonds of the company the following terms, namely:

The subscribers to purchase of Jay Cooke & Co. the said bonds bearing 7.3 gold interest at par, \$5,000,000, and twelve interests in the company at \$50,000 each, \$600,000, amounting in all to \$5,600,000; or, say, twelve shares of \$466,667 each to be paid for in installments, extending through about fifteen months, as the funds may be required by the company, for which each share shall receive as follows:

Bonds, one-twelfth of \$5,000,000.....	\$416,667
Preliminary issue of stock.....	\$93,400
Twenty per cent. stock commissions on bonds.....	83,334
	476,734

and \$40,500 stock upon completion of each section of twenty-five miles of the road.

Thus upon completion to Red River, estimating the distance at two hundred and twenty-five miles, (nine sections of twenty-five miles each,) each share will have received nine times \$40,500, equal to \$364,500, in addition to previously stated \$176,734, say \$541,234 stock; and this proportionate issue continuing with the progress of the road, upon completion to the Pacific each share will have received in all \$416,667 bonds and \$3,416,708 stock, (the fractions in all cases being adjusted in even figures,) and the entire five millions of bonds will thus carry with them a total of \$41,000,500 stock.

It is designed in addition to organize a private land company for the purchase and sale of desirable town sites and other valuable lands, from which large profits are anticipated; the interests in such company to be held in the same proportion with the subscriptions to the present agreement and the funds required to be assessed correspondingly from time to time, of course, with the consent of the parties.

Upon the foregoing terms, we, the undersigned, subscribe the shares and portions of shares set opposite our names, to be paid for in installments as called, the bonds to carry interest from date of payments.

It is also hereby agreed by the subscribers whose names are hereby annexed that they will leave with Jay Cooke & Co. their proxies on all stock acquired under the terms of this agreement, and that they will not dispose of any of the first mortgage bonds subscribed for unless with the consent of said Jay Cooke & Co., or until such sales shall cease to interfere with the plans of the fiscal agents for providing of necessary funds for the completion and equipment of the whole line of road.

K.

Boston, September 5, 1869.

Whereas I have this day entered into agreements with A. & P. Coburn, and sundry other parties resident in Maine, to deliver to them certain specified amounts of the common stock, preferred stock, and first-mortgage bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, upon said parties paying to me the aggregate sum of \$130,000, which several agreements are witnessed by J. G. Blaine and delivered to said parties by said Blaine:

Now this agreement witnesses, that upon the due fulfillment of the several contracts referred to, by the payment of the \$130,000, and for other valuable considerations, the re-

ceipt of which is acknowledged, I hereby agree to deliver to J. G. Blaine, or order, as the same come into my hands as assignee of the contract for building the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, the following securities, namely: Of the land bonds 7 per cents. \$130,000; of the first-mortgage bonds, gold, sixes, \$32,500. And these \$130,000 of land bonds and \$32,500 of first-mortgage bonds thus agreed to be delivered to said Blaine are over and above the securities agreed to be delivered by Warren Fisher, jr., assignee to the parties making the contracts, which parties, with the several amounts to be paid by each and the securities to be received by each, are named in a memorandum on the next page of this sheet.

And it is further agreed, that in the event of any one of said parties failing to pay the amount stipulated, then the amount of securities to be delivered to said Blaine under this agreement shall be reduced in the same proportion that the deficit of payment bears to the aggregate amount agreed to be paid.

WARREN FISHER, JR., *Assignee.*

Witness:

ALVAN R. FLANDERS.

[Stamp.]

Parties contracting with Warren Fisher, jr., assignee, as referred to in preceding agreement.

	To PAY.	To RECEIVE.		
	Cash.	Common stock.	Preferred stock.	First-mortgage bonds.
1. A. & P. Coburn	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$50,000
2. Peter F. Sanborn	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
3. Anson P. Morrill	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
4. Ralph C. Johnson	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
5. P. R. Hazeltine	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
6. C. B. Hazeltine	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
7. N. P. Monroe	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
8. A. W. Johnson	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
9. H. H. Johnson	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
10. Philo Hersey	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
11. Lot M. Morrill	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
12. A. B. Farwell	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
13. Joseph H. Williams	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
14. Charles M. Bailey	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
	130,000	130,000	130,000	130,000

In addition to the above there are to be delivered to J. G. Blaine's order of the land bonds in 7s, currency, \$130,000; first-mortgage bonds, 6s, gold, \$32,500.

Mr. HOLMAN. I ask that the resolution be again read.

The resolution was again read.

Mr. KNOTT rose.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Maine insist on the demand for the previous question?

Mr. BLAINE. O, no; I do not yield the floor.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Maine, not yielding the floor, insists on the demand for the previous question.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it appears to me that the resolution is only in order on a motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. BLAINE. O, no; I hold most decidedly, and I am sure the honorable occupant of the chair will sustain me in so holding, that the resolution embraces a question of the highest privilege.

Mr. HOLMAN. I am making no point against the resolution.

Mr. BLAINE. I hope the gentleman will not take the ground that this is not a privileged resolution.

Mr. HOLMAN. I am not making the point; but it seems to me there is the same right to call for a report on any matter which may have been referred to that committee.

Mr. BLAINE. No, sir. I say that this involves the good faith and the honor of the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. HOLMAN. Ah! that is a different matter. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make an inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Indiana will state it.

Mr. HOLMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. KNOTT] rose, as I understood, with a desire to submit some explanation. If the previous question should now be seconded would that exclude the gentleman from Kentucky from that privilege?

Mr. BLAINE. I am quite willing that the gentleman from Kentucky should be heard. I do not want to stop him, but I wish a vote on the previous question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Maine insists on a vote on his motion for the previous question.

Mr. BLAINE. I do not insist on that now. I insist on the right to call the previous question, but not to the exclusion of the gentleman from Kentucky from speaking.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If the gentleman from Maine does not yield the floor the Chair has no other alternative than to put the question on the motion for the previous question.

Mr. BLAINE. Then I will yield the floor.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman's hour has expired.

Mr. BLAINE. I know that the honorable Speaker will of course recognize me at the proper time hereafter to move the previous question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will decide that when the time comes.

Mr. HOLMAN. The gentleman from Maine must see the fairness of allowing the gentleman from Kentucky to make an explanation.

Mr. BLAINE. I do; and I withdraw for the present the motion for the previous question, knowing that the Chair will recognize me hereafter to renew the motion.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair does not decide that now.

Mr. BLAINE. The Chair could not do otherwise.

Mr. PHILIPS, of Missouri. I reserve the right to make the point of order on the competency of the resolution at this time.

Mr. GARFIELD. Too late.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is not too late. Does the gentlemen from Missouri make that point of order?

Mr. PHILLIPS, of Missouri. I do.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It has been repeatedly decided by Speaker KERR that a resolution following an explanation of this kind is in order. That decision has been made several times this session.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I desire to say a word. When I rose a while ago my motive might have been misunderstood. I intended to say if the question asked by the gentleman from Maine was a proper question it ought to be answered, and I intended to demand myself that it should be answered.

Mr. BLAINE. I thank the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. The question, if a proper one, ought to be answered, and I have no doubt it will be when the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. KNOTT] sees fit.

Mr. KNOTT. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. HUNTON. I claim the indulgence of the House for a very brief period.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair begs to state to the House that the doorkeepers report to him that it is utterly impossible to clear this Hall unless the Capitol police be called in. The doorkeepers are instructed to call in the police, if necessary, and clear the Hall of outsiders.

Mr. ATKINS. Has the Sergeant-at-Arms any duties in this matter?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Sergeant-at-Arms is bound by the rules to assist in that duty. The officers of the House will also clear the cloak-room of those who are not entitled to the privileges of the Hall.

After a pause of some minutes,

Mr. KASSON said: I ask for the regular order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The regular order is that the House be in order.

Mr. KASSON. The House is in more disorder than when the Chair suspended proceedings.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will take care that the regular order is called at the proper time. Gentlemen who are in the cloak-room and not entitled to the privileges of the Hall will retire. The Chair has given the order and he intends that it shall be enforced; but the order has not yet been enforced, and the Chair is utterly powerless unless the doorkeepers assist. There are many persons on the floor who are here without authority and who refuse to go out. [After a pause, during which order in the Hall was restored.] The gentleman from Virginia will proceed.

Mr. HUNTON. I desire, Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the subcommittee to whom allusion has been frequently made in the statement of the gentleman from Maine, to detain the House to make a short statement of the matters to which he has alluded, and I trust that in doing this I shall speak as a member of the committee, and tell calmly, dispassionately, fairly, what has occurred before that subcommittee of which the gentleman from Maine complains.

I beg leave to say in advance that the House has witnessed this morning a remarkable, not to say an unexampled scene, a scene which may have its example in the history of legislation, but if so, it has escaped my observation and reading on the subject.

During the present session of this House two resolutions were adopted, each of which ordered an investigation, each of which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary of this House, and each of which was referred to a subcommittee consisting of Mr. ASHE of North Carolina, Mr. LAWRENCE of Ohio, and myself as chairman of the committee, and before the committee has finished the taking of testimony, before that committee has reached a conclusion, an effort is made by the gentleman supposed to be mostly concerned in these investigations to take the consideration of these questions from the organ of the House and report upon them in person. I need not remind the House what sort of a report would come from that committee if it were allowed to be made by the gentleman from Maine. But I say that after this House has ordered an investigation and has committed that investigation to a committee of the House it is not only unexampled, but entirely against legislative proceedings for a gentleman to rise and undertake to anticipate what the

conclusion of that committee shall be and to state what the action of that committee has been.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in regard to the action of this committee, I will endeavor to follow some of the points made by the gentleman from Maine, and if I state any of the facts wrong I hope either of the gentlemen of that committee will correct me, because I desire to state nothing but what is accurately true in the statement I shall submit to the House.

The first point made by the gentleman from Maine was that it very soon was discovered that the resolution introduced by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TARBOX] was aimed at him, although his name was not mentioned in the resolution, and that he learned this from the proceedings of the subcommittee.

I beg to say to the House that the subcommittee and its chairman first learned from the gentleman from Maine that he was the man aimed at. He does not forget that after the resolution of Mr. TARBOX was referred to the subcommittee at his instance I had an interview with him in the committee-room of the Committee of Ways and Means, and in that interview the gentleman from Maine spoke of it as a resolution affecting him. Not only that, but he expressed himself satisfied and pleased with the *personnel* of the subcommittee, *although two of them were confederates*. And at the instance of the gentleman from Maine a day was appointed upon which the subcommittee was to enter upon its duties. And yet he tells this House that he learned from the subcommittee that he was the party to be investigated, and not the Union Pacific Railroad, as set out in the resolution of Mr. TARBOX. The first I heard either from a member of the House or a member of the committee on the subject was from the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BLAINE] himself, that the resolution referred to him, and he wanted the investigation commenced on a given day, and proceeded with, with as much dispatch as possible from that day. I told the gentleman from Maine that the investigation I should undertake should be as kindly as I could make it, and it should be as fairly conducted as I could conduct it, but as thorough as it could possibly be.

I acceded to his wish that the investigation should not commence until a day not very distant in the future, I think about ten days off. The reason why he did not want the investigation to begin at once was that he wanted to go to Philadelphia during what is known as the Centennial week, and did not want the investigation to commence until the following week. This request was granted with a great deal of pleasure and on the very day indicated by him, the very day he requested the investigation to begin, it was begun, and from that day to this there has been no hour that the committee could devote to this investigation that has not been devoted to it, except when the gentleman himself prevented it, and I say that more than two weeks' time has been lost to this committee because of the conduct of the gentleman from Maine; I do not mean to attach any blame to him; the first was the postponement until the week after the Centennial, and the next was a week of indisposition on his part, and even this morning I rose at the hour of four o'clock to come to this city, a distance of sixty miles, to renew the investigation and get through with it as soon as possible. The gentleman from Maine and his friends were not present, and the investigation had to be postponed. And yet he tells the House that the investigation is "*prolonged, prolonged, prolonged*," and seeks to make the impression on the House that it is the purpose of the committee to prolong this investigation for some sinister purpose. Why he might just as well have said that we desired to postpone it until after

the 14th of June, and every member of the committee will bear me witness to every word I say, that the committee worked in season and out of season ; sitting on one occasion nearly the entire day in order to get through with this investigation before the 14th day of June, and every delay that has occurred, every day when the committee was not able to be in session, it was either because the gentleman from Maine was absent or requested an adjournment. I will not say "every day," for it is possible that there were one or two days when we had a meeting of the full committee, or something of that kind. But the delay has been at his instance, has been caused by him ; for this subcommittee has worked as (I say) no other subcommittee of this House has ever worked. So much for the prolonging of this investigation.

I had no desire, God knows, to prolong it. I had no desire to enter upon it ; but it was a duty imposed upon me by the House, and I intended to discharge that duty, as I have endeavored to discharge every such duty here, with fairness, impartiality, and a due regard to my duty to the House of Representatives.

But the gentleman says that when we had been examining witnesses under what is known as the Tarbox resolution, to his surprise he found that I claimed, or the committee claimed, that they had jurisdiction to investigate certain Pacific railroads, and that he was to be involved in the investigation of those Pacific railroads as well as under the Tarbox resolution.

Now, the gentleman cannot have forgotten what occurred in that connection ; and, not having forgotten it, it was his duty in fairness to have stated it to this House. He knows that this resolution of Mr. LUTTRELL, of California, directing an investigation into all the Pacific railroads that had received subsidies from the Government, was alluded to almost from the start of the investigation by the subcommittee ; therefore he could not have been surprised in the least to learn in the last day or two that there was to be an investigation under the Luttrell resolution.

I desire to state specifically what occurred on this subject a day or two ago in the committee-room. I was asked, "Is there to be an investigation under this Luttrell resolution?" I said to Mr. BLAINE, "The resolution will require an investigation that will take months at the hands of this committee. You have expressed a desire that all the investigation touching you shall be done speedily and concluded as soon as possible. If you desire it, I will not take up any other road except the Northern Pacific and the Kansas Pacific, because as to these two railroads your name has been mentioned as involved in an unpleasant way ; and for your sake, that you may get a report before the tedious examinations of the affairs of all these Pacific railroads, we will take up first the matter which touches you, if you desire it." Mr. BLAINE said that he desired us to go on.

Yet he is very much surprised after all these things occurred in the committee-room. He is surprised to find that an investigation is to be undertaken by this subcommittee which involves an examination in these specific railroads, and it is to be prolonged, prolonged, prolonged, when we agreed for his sake and at his instance to skip all the other inquiries under the Luttrell resolution, until we had disposed of those which seemed to attach to Mr. BLAINE.

Mr. FRYE. Will my colleague on the Committee on the Judiciary [Mr. HUNTON] allow me to ask him a question in relation to that which he has just mentioned?

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. Did not Mr. BLAINE, in that last conversation, object that

under the resolution the committee had no jurisdiction of a stock transaction between two individuals?

Mr. HUNTON. Is that your only question?

Mr. FRYE. Yes.

Mr. HUNTON. I will answer it. I think it very likely he did. And I think also that if we had left the question of jurisdiction to Mr. BLAINE there would have been a great many questions ruled out. [Laughter.] But the committee had to decide the question of jurisdiction for themselves, and they decided that they had jurisdiction to go on.

Mr. FRYE. I will ask you—

Mr. HUNTON. I do not desire to be interrupted any further, if the gentleman will excuse me.

Mr. FRYE. Very well.

Mr. HUNTON. I say that there was no ground for the surprise of the gentleman, and instead of bad faith on the part of this committee in undertaking this investigation into the affairs of the Pacific railroads, it was our bounden duty as the organ of the House to undertake it, and to do what we could, whether we got through this session or not. And for the purpose of bringing to a close the matters which seemed to bear upon Mr. BLAINE—and this House and the country knows that there have been publications which drew from him certainly once if not twice a personal explanation on this floor—for the purpose of getting at them speedily and getting a report into this House as soon as we could, I said: "If you wish, Mr. BLAINE, we will not go into all these other roads, but take up the Northern Pacific Road and the Kansas Pacific Road, because there is connected with those two roads a charge against you." Now, if there is anything unfair in that I cannot see it, and I guarantee that this House cannot see it.

Then about these letters; and that I believe is the gist of his complaint before this House. In order to set that question before the House properly, I desire to state it as it arose in the committee-room on the evidence. And I beg leave to state here, before I go from this point, that every witness that has been examined before the Committee, whether his testimony was made in favor of Mr. BLAINE or against him, was summoned by the committee without any suggestion from Mr. BLAINE or any of his friends. He did on one occasion send me a memorandum of witnesses to summon, and my reply on the back of the memorandum was that every one of those witnesses had already been summoned (or were ordered to be summoned) by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Therefore, every witness who has appeared before the committee, under either resolution, was summoned by the committee without any suggestion from Mr. BLAINE or any of his friends.

Among these witnesses appeared Mr. James Mulligan, of the city of Boston, a gentleman whose character is unimpeached and, according to the testimony, unimpeachable. Mr. Fisher was put on the stand to state some things differently from Mr. Mulligan, and he was asked the question: "What sort of a man is James Mulligan?" He was put upon the stand by Mr. BLAINE, and, after his examination-in-chief had ended, he was asked this question. His reply was substantially, if not literally: "He is as good as any man I ever knew, or the best man I ever knew." Mr. Atkins, another witness introduced for the same purpose, said substantially the same thing of Mr. Mulligan. I desire to say to this House in the beginning that Mr. Mulligan stood before that committee with a reputation for truth and veracity equal to that of any gentleman on this floor. What may be his character I know not; I never saw him until he appeared in the committee-room.

Mr. FRYE. Will my colleague on the committee pardon me one moment?

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. From the gentleman's statement in relation to these questions as to the character of Mr. Mulligan, the impression might go out that Mr. BLAINE asked those questions. Will the gentleman please state whether or not he, as chairman of the committee, asked them?

Mr. HUNTON. I did, sir.

Mr. FRYE. That is all.

Mr. HUNTON. And the witness answered just as I have stated. I wanted to know what sort of a witness I was dealing with. I put the question for the information of the committee. This witness, who had been summoned from Boston, was put upon the stand, and I did not know what he would testify to. If anybody had ever informed me what Mr. Mulligan's testimony would be or what it would relate to I had forgotten it entirely. In the course of his examination the first day Mr. Mulligan was testifying very quietly; there was no excitement in the committee-room at all when he happened to mention that he had in his possession certain letters written by Mr. BLAINE to Warren Fisher, jr. The mention of these letters seemed to have a remarkable effect upon Mr. BLAINE, for in a moment or two afterward he whispered to Mr. LAWRENCE, the republican member of that committee, "Move an adjournment." It so happened that I heard the suggestion. Mr. LAWRENCE got up with great solemnity on his countenance and said, "Mr. Chairman, I am very sick, and I hope the committee will adjourn." [Laughter.]

Mr. LAWRENCE rose.

Mr. HUNTON. I hope the gentleman is better to-day.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Will my colleague on the committee allow me to ask a question or make a statement?

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly.

Mr. LAWRENCE. I will ask my colleague whether, when I went into the committee-room on that morning, the first thing I said to him before I had spoken to anybody else, was not that I had been exceedingly sick during the night? [Laughter.] I had been to Baltimore on the day before; and though I had not indulged in anything that would necessarily make me sick, yet I was extremely sick, so much so that it was with difficulty I sat there at all. I said simply what was true when I said that I was extremely unwell; and as the gentleman knows I have been quite unwell ever since. [Laughter.]

Mr. FRYE. What time was it when it was proposed to adjourn?

Mr. LAWRENCE. It was then half past twelve o'clock, half an hour beyond the time when the committee usually adjourns to attend the sittings of the House. Now, my friend says that he heard the remark of Mr. BLAINE asking me to move to adjourn. It was not necessary that I should state what Mr. BLAINE had said to me.

Mr. HUNTON. Nobody asked you to do so.

Mr. LAWRENCE. The gentleman says he heard it; but it was not necessary that I should state every ground for asking the adjournment.

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly not.

Mr. LAWRENCE. It was sufficient that I deemed it necessary to ask an adjournment. [Laughter.]

Mr. HUNTON. The gentleman has stated the matter exactly as it occurred. He did come in in the morning sick.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Yes, sir,

Mr. HUNTON. But he went to work in a most vigorous style for two hours.

Mr. LAWRENCE. But I became exhausted.

Mr. HUNTON. When those letters were mentioned the gentleman became sick, and somebody else sicker. [Laughter.] And the motion to adjourn was made at his suggestion.

Mr. LAWRENCE. It ought to be said in justice to Mr. BLAINE that so far as anything said by him to me could indicate his purpose, the motion to adjourn suggested by him was not caused by any fear of what was going on.

Mr. HUNTON. I never intimated such a thing. The gentleman is raising men of straw just to knock them over. But I do say that after these letters were mentioned incidentally by Mr. Mulligan, the reference being brought out without a question, (for I had not the remotest conception that he had any such letters in his possession,) the gentleman from Ohio did rise, at the suggestion of the gentleman from Maine, and move an adjournment; and he put it upon the ground that he was sick, and we had been sitting over our time anyhow. These are the exact facts. Now, why the motion to adjourn was suggested to the gentleman, and whether he was absolutely taken sicker at that moment, I cannot tell and do not propose to inquire; but an adjournment was had. We did not like to keep our colleague there in misery and distress; on account of his sickness and because we had sat over the hour which we were allowed to sit, an adjournment was had. The committee adjourned until the next morning at ten o'clock; and when we met, James Mulligan was put upon the stand again to complete his examination, which had been interrupted by the motion to adjourn. He was asked a question which did not look to the letters, which had no reference to them whatever. He said: "Mr. Chairman, before I proceed to answer that question, I desire to make a personal explanation painful to myself."

I will commence at the beginning of his personal explanation. I will state it substantially as he did, and if I err in any important particular I trust I will be corrected. Upon the evening of his first arrival in the city of Washington, before I knew he was in the city, he and Warren Fisher were waited on by Mr. BLAINE. They were invited to the house of Mr. BLAINE. Mr. Mulligan said, "Mr. BLAINE I decline to go to your house; I do not want to talk about what I have been brought here for. I desire to take the stand tomorrow untrammelled by conversation of any kind with anybody." Warren Fisher went to the house of Mr. BLAINE. Twice Mr. BLAINE sent a messenger down to induce Mulligan to come to his house. Mr. Mulligan still declined, and presently Mr. BLAINE and Warren Fisher came into the hotel where Mulligan stopped in the city of Washington, (the Riggs House.) Mr. Mulligan was in the barber-shop undergoing the pleasant operation of shaving, or about to undergo it, and Mr. BLAINE followed him into the barber-shop and commenced to entreat and earnestly to request that Mulligan would give up those letters which BLAINE had addressed to Warren Fisher. Mulligan declined to do it.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman—

A MEMBER. I object to interruption.

Mr. FRYE. I ask my colleague of the committee if I may interrupt him?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes, you may.

Mr. FRYE. The gentleman is now stating evidence, and I desire him to be very careful, because, as I remember it, there is no testimony whatever showing or tending to show that Mr. BLAINE, in a barber-shop, in the presence of the barber, entreated Mulligan for those letters.

Mr. HUNTON. It matters not where he entreated him. I am under the impression it was there, but I am not certain.

Mr. FRYE. The letters were not read in any barber-shop.

Mr. HUNTON. I will take him out of the barber-shop. It does not matter in the least where the entreaty was made. Mr. BLAINE entreated him. I give you now the substance of the language of the witness. He entreated him with tears in his eyes, going down on his knees, or almost on his knees—

Mr. FRYE. In the barber-shop?

Mr. HUNTON. I did not say in the barber-shop. I do not care where it was. It was in his room, I believe; but he made this entreaty. The witness said, "with tears in his eyes, almost, if not quite, on his knees;" "if you do not deliver those letters to me, I am ruined and my family disgraced." Of course I mean to be understood here that the witness meant that BLAINE's family would be disgraced through the ruin of Mr. BLAINE. He also threatened to commit suicide. Mr. Mulligan refused to deliver the letters. He said: "Mr. BLAINE, I see by the evening paper that my testimony given to the committee to-day is to be assailed"—to use his own word, "impugned"—"and in case my character and testimony are assailed, I want those letters to justify me in my testimony before the committee." Mr. BLAINE asked: "Do you suppose I am going to assail you?" The witness said: "If you do not assail me others may, and my character is too dear to me not to vindicate it if I can." Mr. BLAINE then tried politics with him, and he asked the witness: "Are you content with your station?" To this Mulligan said he would like to improve it if he could. Mr. BLAINE said: "Would you like a political office?" Mulligan replied he did not like politics, and did not care about it. Mr. BLAINE then asked how he would like a foreign consulship? He said he would not like it; and after that BLAINE said: "Let me see the letters to peruse them." The witness objected, but he said finally, upon a pledge of honor from Mr. BLAINE that he would return the letters, they were given him to read. He read them over once or twice, and returned them to the witness. Again he made an effort to obtain those letters, and Mr. Mulligan left the company and went into his room. In a short time Mr. BLAINE followed him into his room, and this scene occurred between the parties without any witnesses: Mr. BLAINE again endeavored to get possession of the letters. The witness again declined to deliver them. The witness says that Mr. BLAINE said: "I want to reread those letters again, and I want to have them for that purpose."

Mr. FRYE. I desire to ask my colleague a question there.

Mr. HUNTON. Very well.

Mr. FRYE. I want to call his attention—

Mr. HUNTON. I trust you will, if I misstated the testimony.

Mr. FRYE. The impression I received from the statement just made is that this effort and threat to commit suicide was in the presence of witnesses.

Mr. HUNTON. No; I did not say it was.

Mr. FRYE. It was not?

Mr. HUNTON. It was not.

Mr. FRYE. Do not you know he testified it was to himself?

Mr. HUNTON. I think he did; that it was to himself alone. He asked the witness to let him see the letters again; and the witness said that on a like pledge of honor to return them to him he delivered these letters over a second time to Mr. BLAINE to read and return them; and when Mr. BLAINE had read them and kept them a short time he refused to deliver them. The wit-

ness became excited, demanded his letters, and followed Mr. BLAINE into the room of Mr. Atkins on the floor below, and there demanded his letters from Mr. BLAINE; and he not only demanded his letters, but he demanded the private memorandum which the witness himself had made to use on his examination before the committee to refresh his memory. This was taken by Mr. BLAINE, and this also he refused to deliver.

Mr. FRYE. Will the gentleman pardon me again for interrupting him?

Mr. HUNTON. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. Do I understand the gentleman as stating that Mr. Mulligan testified that he demanded in addition to the letters the private memorandum?

Mr. HUNTON. No, sir. He said that Mr. BLAINE took it when the letters were handed to him. The memorandum was with the letters when they were handed to him.

Mr. FRYE. It was in the bundle?

Mr. HUNTON. That may be.

Mr. FRYE. Was it so?

Mr. HUNTON. I think it was. And when Mr. BLAINE refused to deliver the letters he refused also to deliver the memorandum.

Now this was the statement made by the witness before the committee charged with the investigation of these subjects. Who has a right to complain? The gentleman from Maine or the committee? Who has a right to complain? The gentleman from Maine or this House? Here was a witness summoned from Boston. He did not appear as a volunteer in the case. He came under the compulsory process of the House, and was entitled to the protection of the House as long as he was in the city of Washington under his subpoena. Is the authority of this House in bringing witnesses here to testify to subject-matters of inquiry which the House has thought proper to make to be protected or not? It is a question which concerns this House more than the subcommittee of which I have the honor to be chairman.

But the gentleman from Maine says that these were his letters. Why, sir, it is an utter mistake as to the law of the case—an utter, complete mistake. I say to this House, without the fear of successful refutation, that according to the well-settled principles of law those letters belonged to Mr. Warren Fisher from the time he received them from the mail until he delivered them over to Mr. Mulligan, and Mr. Mulligan was entitled to the possession and ownership of those letters from that period.

In regard to how Mr. Mulligan got possession of those letters, he says, and Mr. Fisher corroborates his statement, that those letters were taken possession of and brought to the city of Washington by James Mulligan with the full consent and approbation of Warren Fisher. There was no surreptitious possession of these letters on the part of the witness, but they were brought here with the knowledge and consent of Warren Fisher, and witness brought them for the purpose of sustaining his testimony on the stand if it became necessary to use them. And I say, Mr. Speaker, that from the very moment Warren Fisher received those letters from Mr. BLAINE, Mr. BLAINE ceased to have any control of them. He had no more right to the possession or control of those letters than he has to my watch now in my pocket or any other piece of property which I may own. Some of the authorities go so far as to say that the publication of private correspondence may be enjoined by the writer or author of the correspondence if it is attempted on the part of the holder to use that correspondence to the detriment of *the writer's property*. But until that is attempted or threatened the writer has no right to interfere with any sort of use that the recipient of those letters chooses to make of them,

I will not go further into this question, because my friend, the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. KNOTT,] is fortified with authorities on this subject and will state the law more clearly than I can. But if Mr. BLAINE—as I have said the law declares—was not entitled to the possession and had no right to the letters, I ask how he can justify his course before this House in taking the letters under a promise on his honor to return them and then withhold them.

Well, the subcommittee thought that, as the letters were obtained by Mr. BLAINE under circumstances such as I have detailed, it was right and proper that they should be given up to the committee or returned to the witness, the rightful owner of these letters; and when the demand was made upon Mr. BLAINE for the production of them he asked for time to consult counsel. His demand was cheerfully granted, and an adjournment took place from that day until ten o'clock the next morning. At ten o'clock the next morning we heard from Mr. BLAINE that he had not gotten through with the consultation; that owing to peculiar circumstances he had not been able to get the two counsel together the preceding night. We gave him until twelve o'clock. Twelve o'clock arrived; and he still was not ready. At two o'clock he came before the subcommittee with the opinion of Judge Black and Mr. Carpenter stating that we had no right to demand these letters; that they were private property pertaining to the private business of Mr. BLAINE; and that we had no right to demand them, and Mr. BLAINE should resist the demand.

Now, the committee may have very high respect for the authority of Judge Black and Mr. Carpenter, but they were investigating a question for the House, and not according to the rules prescribed by Mr. Carpenter and Judge Black. They did not choose that Mr. Carpenter and Judge Black should decide a question which the House had ordered them to decide.

Mr. FRYE. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FRYE. Did not Mr. Mulligan on three different occasions testify that there was not more than one letter which touched however remotely any subject under investigation, whether the Union Pacific Railroad, the bonds sold the company by Tom Scott, or the Northern Pacific, or the Central Pacific, or all of the rest of those roads named in that resolution? Did he not testify in answer to your interrogatories at three different times that only one letter however remotely touched any matter which the subcommittee were investigating?

Mr. HUNTON. No, sir; he did not so testify, according to my recollection. I will tell you what he did testify.

Mr. FRYE. Well, sir.

Mr. HUNTON. He testified on one or two or perhaps on three occasions that he did not think that there were but two letters in the batch which bore upon the subject-matter of inquiry before the committee, one in regard to the Northern Pacific and the other in regard to the Union Pacific.

Mr. FRYE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HUNTON. That is what he said, but the committee thought that as the letters had been obtained in the manner in which Mr. BLAINE had obtained these letters, it was not only their right but their duty to determine the question for themselves whether the letters were pertinent to the subject-matter of inquiry or not.

Mr. FRYE. One other question. The gentleman says in response to my question that there were two letters, one relating to the Union and the other to the Northern Pacific Railroad. On the day before yesterday, when you

were pursuing the Northern Pacific inquiry, did he not swear distinctly that there was not one letter which related at all to the Northern Pacific?

Mr. HUNTON. He mentioned a statement which related to it.

Mr. FRYE. A statement but not a letter, and that statement not in Mr. BLAINE's handwriting.

Mr. HUNTON. No, sir.

Mr. FRYE. Did he not state that the statement was not in Mr. BLAINE's handwriting?

Mr. HUNTON. I stated so.

Mr. FRYE. One more question.

Mr. HUNTON. I yield for one more.

Mr. FRYE. Was there, when this witness was subpoenaed to Washington, any *subpœna duces tecum* at all.

Mr. HUNTON. No, sir.

Mr. FRYE. That is all.

Mr. HUNTON. I do not see what difference it makes whether there was a *subpœna duces tecum* or not. The object of a *subpœna duces tecum* is to require the witness to bring papers. If he brings them without a *subpœna duces tecum*, the object is attained, because the letters are there; and the witness had a right to bring them without a *subpœna duces tecum* for the purpose for which he indicated he did bring them.

Now I say, sir, that when these facts came out that there was a letter and a statement, which I believe was stated by Mr. BLAINE to have been written by his clerk—when we found from the witness that one of these letters in that statement did relate to the subject-matter under inquiry, that when the solicitude was manifested to obtain possession of the letters, I ask the House whether it was not only the right but the duty of the subcommittee to demand at the hands of Mr. BLAINE the restoration of these letters to the witness or their production to the committee? The committee told Mr. BLAINE, "If you say these letters are your private papers, surrender them to the committee; you did not get possession of them in a manner which the committee think rightful, whatever may be your opinion about it, and we desire to see those letters, not to be made public, not to be published as a part of the proceedings of the committee, not to be given to the correspondents of newspapers to be spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, but to be inspected by the committee in private and used only when found pertinent."

Mr. FRYE. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. HUNTON. I thought you said that you were only going to ask one question more?

Mr. FRYE. Ah! at that time, allow me to ask if Mr. BLAINE did not ask the chairman of the subcommittee—

Mr. HUNTON. I am coming to that, if the gentleman will let me. I do not mean to omit an important particular; but let me state the case in my own way.

Mr. FRYE. Very well.

Mr. HUNTON. I stated that the committee ought to inspect those letters in private, and that wherever there was one that did not refer to the subject-matter of this investigation, either under the Luttrell resolution or the Tarbox resolution, those letters which were found to be private should not be made public.

Mr. FRYE. That is not what my inquiry was about.

Mr. HUNTON. I am coming to your inquiry; do not be impatient, if you please.

Mr. FRYE. Very well.

Mr. HUNTON. I know what the gentleman wants to ask me: if Mr. BLAINE did not invite me to his house to read these letters.

Mr. FRYE. That was not it.

Mr. HUNTON. What was it?

Mr. FRYE. I know Mr. BLAINE did invite you, and told you that you might read all the letters. But I want to ask you if Mr. Blaine did not ask the subcommittee whether, if he produced these letters and gave them to them, they should be examined privately and only those put on record that related to the case, and if Mr. HUNTON, the chairman of the subcommittee, did not say no, he would not examine them privately?

Mr. HUNTON. No, sir.

Mr. FRYE. You say you did not say that?

Mr. HUNTON. I say I refused individually to examine them privately.

Mr. FRYE. Was not that inquiry addressed to you when the subcommittee was in session?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FRYE. Then I understand you to say that you understood that inquiry to be addressed to you privately?

Mr. HUNTON. I understood it so.

Mr. FRYE. I understood it differently.

Mr. HUNTON. I understood it as I have stated, and I do not think I am mistaken. I said to Mr. BLAINE over and over again, "Mr. BLAINE, I do not want to see your correspondence either public or private. I have no right to read it except as a committee-man; and these two gentlemen who sit on either side of me have the same right I have." I did not mean to receive at the hands of Mr. BLAINE any letters or any papers that my colleagues on the committee could not see and inspect with me.

When I had the honor of an invitation to the gentleman's house to read these letters, I replied to it in the same way: "Mr. BLAINE, I have no right to go to your house as a private citizen and read your correspondence; if I have the right to look at it at all, it is as a member and as the chairman of this committee; and if I have no right to look at it in that way, I have no right to look at it at all, and will not do it."

I believe he has stated on this floor to-day, and if I am wrong I hope I may be corrected, that forty-four gentlemen have read these papers. My colleague on the committee, the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. ASHE,] reminds me that when Mr. BLAINE refused to produce these letters, he or one of the members of the committee asked that the memorandum of the witness should be surrendered to the committee that we might examine it and see whether these letters were public and bore upon the subject of this investigation, or were private. That was refused.

When I refused to go to the gentleman's house and read these letters, I did it because I did not want, and God knows I do not want now, to pry into his private correspondence; but I thought it was my duty as a member of the committee, and my duty to this House, to demand at his hands the production of letters and memorandum obtained in the manner in which I have stated. Now it is for this House to determine whether I did right or wrong, whether the committee did right or wrong. If I did wrong I did it in pursuance of what I thought was my duty to this House to investigate thoroughly, and I trust impartially, the subject-matters of inquiry addressed by the House to the Judiciary Committee. If I have erred it has been an error of the judgment, and I say to-day that it is a job I never fancied.

Mr. BLAINE. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAINE. Does the gentleman know of a dispatch received from Josiah Caldwell in London?

Mr. HUNTON. My friend, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, [Mr. KNOTT,] will reply to you in full on that subject.

Mr. BLAINE. I ask the gentleman if he knows—

Mr. HUNTON. I do not mean to answer a question addressed properly to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. BLAINE. But I address it to the chairman with whom I have been dealing. I ask the gentleman who is the chairman of the subcommittee to state to this House whether on Thursday morning last the chairman of the full committee, Mr. KNOTT, of Kentucky, did not come to the committee-room and call the gentleman from Virginia out, and then or at some other time acquaint him with that fact?

Mr. HUNTON. Now you are done.

Mr. BLAINE. I do not know; it depends upon your answer.

Mr. HUNTON. You are done, unless I choose to yield to you again.

Mr. BLAINE. I ask you that question.

Mr. HUNTON. And I answer you that if my friend from Kentucky [Mr. KNOTT] does not answer you fully I will.

Mr. BLAINE. Ah, that is not what—

Mr. HUNTON. I will not yield to the gentleman any further.

Mr. BLAINE. Will the gentleman yield on another point?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes.

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman will pardon me for a moment; I will give him more of my time in exchange. The gentleman has commented with an attempt at severity upon the fact that I saw these witnesses before they testified. Has it not been the habit of the gentleman from Virginia to see witnesses before they testified?

Mr. HUNTON. Not my habit, sir; I have seen several.

Mr. BLAINE. I have received this letter which I wish to read:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23, 1876.

DEAR SIR: I arrived here last night to give my testimony in the case concerning yourself before the Judiciary Committee. I was summoned to the committee-room at ten o'clock this morning and was sorry to find the investigation postponed until to-morrow on account of your illness. I shall endeavor to call and pay my respects this evening. I was greatly taken by surprise at being taken aside by Mr. HUNTON and somewhat closely interrogated privately as to the points of the testimony I should be able to give against you. All his inquiries seemed to be made with an animus, and the thorough questioning he gave me in this informal manner astonished me beyond measure. I had no idea that congressional investigations were conducted in this way. If they are they cease to be fair and honorable and degenerate into prosecutions and then into persecutions.

I learned after leaving Mr. HUNTON that he has been pursuing this course with other witnesses who are presumed to have some testimony to give against you. Mr. HUNTON's inquiries were not merely general, but were, it seemed to me, about as minute as they could well be, and put with an apparent desire to have every fact stated in a manner that would inculpate you.

I have felt that I was in honor bound to communicate this to you as early as possible for your own protection.

I am, very truly yours,

A. P. ROBINSON.

HON. J. G. BLAINE.

He came that evening and had some conversation with me; and when the gentleman asked if he had seen me, he supposed it was in reference to the testimony. He did not come to tell me what he could testify to, but—

Mr. HUNTON. I did not give way for a speech.

Mr. BLAINE. I have made speech enough.

Mr. HUNTON. The animus of that witness is shown by his letter more than mine is shown by it. I do not deny, I never have denied, that I have talked with some half a dozen witnesses.

Mr. BLAINE. But he said it was understood you "coached" the witness; that is the phrase he used.

Mr. HUNTON. I say that if he or any other man says that I undertook to "post" the witness or to "coach" him, or intimates by any other technical term which I may not understand that there has been an attempt on my part to influence his testimony, it is false, absolutely false.

Now I confess that I had talked to these witnesses; but never, never have I attempted to influence their testimony in the slightest degree. My object in talking to the witnesses was to learn how to examine them; I thought it my right and my duty.

Mr. BLAINE. That is just what Mr. Robinson says—that the object was to get the strong points against me.

Mr. HUNTON. I did not give way to the gentleman. I beg him to recollect that I have the floor, and not to attempt to take it from me until I yield to him.

I want him to recollect also that I was not under investigation; I was not interested in the result; and though I may have talked to witnesses before their examination, was that as bad as for the gentleman from Maine, who was interested in the result, to take them to his house? I say here upon my personal responsibility that not once have I attempted to influence the testimony of a witness summoned before me in any investigation ordered by this House. Why, sir, the gentleman knows that a witness in his examination in the open committee-room stated, "In my conversation with you, Mr. HUNTON, this statement occurred." I never attempted to conceal the fact that on several occasions—probably four or five, it may be less or it may be more—I did talk with witnesses, that I might know under which resolution their testimony came; that I might know how to bring out the facts in the possession of the witness. If that is wrong, Mr. Speaker, it is an error of judgment on my part. I cannot see it.

Now, these are the facts in this case; and I beg the House to bear in mind that they have committed these investigations to the hands of a committee; and while that committee is proceeding with its investigation the gentleman from Maine, who supposes that he is involved in this investigation, undertakes to forestall the conclusions of that committee, and make his own statement to the House of the result of that investigation. Mr. Speaker, if this practice is to be observed in the House, let all references to committees be discontinued; and whenever there is an inquiry here which may possibly involve a member, let that member get up on the floor and make his statement; let that be received as the report of the committee; let it be adopted, and thus let the matter end. If that is not to be the practice, let this committee go on with its investigation. If the testimony does not implicate Mr. BLAINE, I undertake to say that the committee will not only cheerfully and promptly, but with pleasure report that fact to the House. If, on the other hand, the testimony shall involve him in the charges which are under consideration by the committee, then rest assured that I, as one of the members of the committee, mean to report the facts to the House and the conclusions to be drawn from these facts.

Mr. KNOTT obtained the floor.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will read to those who will listen the rule as to those entitled to the privilege of admission to the floor.

The Clerk read as follows :

No person except members of the Senate, their Secretary, heads of Departments, the President's private secretary, foreign ministers, the governor for the time being of any State, Senators and Representatives elect, judges of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the Court of Claims, and such persons as have by name received the thanks of Congress shall be admitted within the hall of the House of Representatives or any of the rooms upon the same floor or leading into the same; provided that ex-members of Congress who are not interested in any claim pending before Congress, and shall so register themselves, may also be admitted within the hall of the House; and no persons except those herein specified shall at any time be admitted to the floor of the House.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that numbers of persons on the floor have defied the officers of the House in remaining and force has been required to put them outside of the Chamber. The Chair will also state that it is the duty of the Doorkeeper and the Sergeant-at-Arms to enforce this rule; and in order that gentlemen may conduct the public business the Chair states that this rule will be enforced, if necessary, by the police belonging to the Capitol. The gentleman from Kentucky will proceed.

Mr. KNOTT. Mr. Speaker, within the last two hours I have listened to imputations upon myself upon this floor which, coming from a different source or elsewhere, I might, perhaps, answer very differently from the manner in which I shall attempt to answer them now. Those who are intimately acquainted with me know that I am the last man in the world to seek a personal altercation, and I assure the House that of all men in the world the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BLAINE] is the last man with whom I would seek such a conflict. He is entirely too immense in his proportions for me to presume to attack.

Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus, and we petty men
Walk under his huge legs and peep about
To find ourselves dishonorable graves.

Personal controversy seems to be his forte, and whenever he is engaged in a conflict of that kind on this floor the gentleman reminds me of Homer's description of Diomedes:

Dire was the clang and dreadful from afar,
Was armed Tydides rushing to the war.

No; the gentleman, as my old friend Jim Johnson would say, is habitually and entirely "too pompous and usurpious" for me to seek a contest with. [Laughter.] Two-thirds of the time when he is in the House he does not seem to realize whether he is in the Speaker's chair or on the floor, and to a stranger it would be an insoluble enigma.

The gentleman quite unnecessarily, as I shall show, has dragged me into this personal matter of his own. In the first place, he insinuates that from some unworthy motive, I as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, appointed upon the subcommittee which has charge of this investigation the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON] and the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. ASHE.] Well, in answer to that I have to say, first, that either of those gentlemen is his peer in any sense of the word, and, in point of honor, it is no disparagement to the gentleman from Maine to say they are both his superiors. [Hisses on the republican side of the House.] That is

all right. There are but three animals in this world that hiss: vipers, geese, and fools. Hiss on! [Laughter and applause.]

In the second place this subcommittee was, as I remarked a while ago, selected long before there was any insinuation, public or private that I knew of, that the gentleman from Maine was in any manner implicated in any of the alleged fraudulent transactions on the part of any of these railroad corporations, and it did seem to me, when the gentleman flung his imputation at me, as a little strange that he could ascribe any motive to me under the circumstances, even granting the gentleman from Virginia and the gentleman from North Carolina were his personal enemies.

I repeat, sir, it does seem a little remarkable to me that you cannot touch one of these railroad companies but what the gentleman from Maine squeals. [Laughter.] Yes, sir, and I have no doubt it struck Mr. Harrison as a little remarkable, when that seventy-five-thousand-dollar bond transaction was mentioned in a meeting of directors of the Union Pacific Railroad, that the treasurer should say: "Do not say anything about that; it involves BLAINE." [Renewed laughter.]

I will say furthermore, Mr. Speaker, that when this subcommittee was raised, long before I had any intimation that Mr. BLAINE was involved in any manner in the railroad companies to be investigated, I went to his particular friend and colleague and asked him to take a position on that subcommittee, which he declined. So much for the appointment of the subcommittee.

Now as to the celebrated Mulligan letters——

Mr. FRYE. I should like to ask the gentleman a question. I suppose the gentleman referred to me.

Mr. KNOTT. I referred to you, sir.

Mr. FRYE. I presume if that is so—I have no recollection about it, but I have no reason to question the gentleman's word in the matter—if that was so, as a matter of course it was to take the place occupied by Mr. LAWRENCE.

Mr. KNOTT. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. It was not to take the place occupied by the gentleman from Virginia or the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. KNOTT. Of course not.

Now with regard to the correspondence which seems to have brought up this attack by the gentleman from Maine upon the Judiciary Committee so far as I have had anything to do with that, I will proceed to state it. The facts were laid before the committee that Mr. Mulligan had been summoned here to give testimony touching the subject-matters referred to the subcommittee; that he had appeared before the subcommittee and informed them upon his arrival he had been approached by Mr. BLAINE for a private interview, which he declined; that Mr. BLAINE had asked him to show certain letters which were in his possession—lawfully in his possession—placed there by the recipient of those letters, Mr. Fisher, with his permission to the witness to make whatever use of them he might see proper; that he surrendered those letters to Mr. BLAINE upon the personal promise of Mr. BLAINE that he would return them to him after he had inspected them, which Mr. BLAINE had refused to do; and that thereupon the subcommittee asked the advice of the committee as to the course they were to pursue. While the discussion of that matter was pending the challenge was thrown out by the gentleman's friends, which has been thrown out by the gentleman himself here to-day, that he should be brought before the bar of the House and compelled to pro-

duce those letters. I then remarked as I now remark, if the gentleman desires to join the noble army of martyrs, he must volunteer as he has done. I will never act as conscripting officer to get him a position in that glorious band. [Laughter.]

More than that, the gentleman insinuates that it is the settled purpose of the Judiciary Committee to do something or other that may, peradventure, prevent him from receiving the nomination at the coming convention at Cincinnati. I beg the gentleman to understand that, so far as I am concerned, and I believe so far as any of my colleagues are concerned, we are perfectly willing that he shall receive that nomination. If, in the pending campaign, we cannot defeat the gentleman from Maine, God knows our case is hopeless, entirely so. If he should receive the nomination and be elected in the face of all the facts, all we can say is, may the Lord have mercy on the American people. [Laughter.]

In the discussion as to what should be done by the subcommittee under the circumstances I have stated I did take occasion to say what I now repeat here in the face of this House and the world, that so far as those letters were concerned they were legally the property of Mr. Fisher, and legally in the possession of his bailee, Mr. Mulligan, and that Mr. BLAINE had no more right to the possession of them than I had; and that if he could procure letters under even an implied pledge of his personal honor to return them, and withhold them in the face of that pledge, it was a question for him to settle with the American people whose suffrages he seeks.

I care not whether Mr. Mulligan extorted from him an express promise to return them or not. He received them, knowing that Mulligan expected him to return them, and kept them with a strong hand when they were not his property. I say they were not his property, and I say that in view of the law of the case. I affirm that the only right the gentleman from Maine had at all in those letters was to publish their contents for his own private use if he thought proper, or restrain by injunction their publication by another.

In one of the most celebrated cases upon this subject, where the whole question was thoroughly discussed and all the authorities reviewed, the famous case of Grigsby and wife against Breckenridge, one of the most illustrious jurists that ever adorned the bench on this continent, Chief Justice Robertson, of Kentucky, says:

A majority of the American cases even deny the right of the author to enjoin the publication of a private letter on the ground of property. But, as before suggested, we incline to the conclusion that the weight of authority, fortified by analogy, preponderates in favor of the author's special property in the publication, and in his consequential right to publish if he keep or can procure a copy. But the recipient is not bound to keep the original for his transcription, inspection, or other use. There is no adjudged case or elementary dictum extending the author's right of property beyond this circumscribed and contingent range. And all the cases cited in this case thus limit and define it.

Publication by the author is circulation before the public eye by printing or multiplied copies in writing. The like publicity by the act of the recipient would be an infringement of the author's exclusive right, which he may prevent by injunction.

He goes on to say:

In an able article on the author's right to enjoin the publication of private letters, Parker, an eminent judge in Massachusetts and professor in the Harvard law school, said:

"The receiver of a letter is not a bailee, nor does he stand in a character analogous to that of a bailee. There is no right to possession, present or future"—

Mark you—

"no right to possession, present or future, in the writer,"

Then where did the gentleman from Maine get the right to waylay Mr. Mulligan and procure these letters in the manner in which he admits himself he did, and hold on to them in defiance of the bailee's right of possession?

The only right to be enforced against the holder is a right to prevent publication, not to require the manuscript from the holder in order to a publication by himself.

The right of the receiver—

The right of the receiver—

then, is to the whole letter. He may read it himself and to others, and recite it at meetings. He may do everything but multiply copies; and perhaps he may do this, if he do not print them.

Now, sir, there is the whole case. Mr. Mulligan was legally in the possession of the letters by the permission of the recipient, with the authority to use them in any manner he saw proper. Those letters were taken from him under an implied promise, to say the least, to return them, and they are kept from him by a strong hand. The question what the subcommittee was to do under the circumstances was submitted to the Committee on the Judiciary. And now comes the strange part of the whole thing, which I believe has not yet been developed before the House.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman allow me—

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from Maine?

Mr. KNOTT. Here comes the strange part of the whole thing. The Committee on the Judiciary have done the gentleman from Maine no wrong. They have not even decided what shall be done with those letters. Nobody has even intimated that he shall be obliged to give them to any human being on the earth. The committee have taken no action in the matter at all, but on to-morrow morning that question was to be brought up, and yet in advance of their conclusion and in defiance of all parliamentary law that I have ever heard of, an Ex-Speaker of the House comes here on the pretext of a personal explanation and takes the matter away from the jurisdiction of a committee to which it has been committed and drags it before the House.

Now, that is simply the condition in which the question stands. It is still *sub judice*, not decided at all, and with no intimation from any one that a solitary one of those letters would be taken from him or given to the public, but with a very positive assurance on my part to the gentleman, through his friends, that he would not be martyred by the Committee on the Judiciary, at least not with my consent.

Mr. FRYE. Now, will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Kentucky yield to the gentleman from Maine?

Mr. KNOTT. Why is all this noise made for so little wool?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. KNOTT. The Judiciary Committee, upon whom the gentleman has made such violent assaults, has done him no wrong. On the contrary, that committee has extended to him every conceivable courtesy from the very beginning, as has been explained here by my honorable colleague from Virginia.

No disposition has been manifested by any member of that committee to do anything that would militate against the gentleman's interest in the slightest possible degree. Every request he ever made to the committee has been complied with. Every postponement asked for has been granted. When

he has asked that the inquiry should be prosecuted without delay, it has been done, or at least attempted. When he has asked that the investigation be delayed, it has been delayed. When he has asked on technical grounds that evidence be excluded, it has invariably been excluded. Everything has been done to protect the gentleman; for God knows we want him nominated. [Laughter.] He need not be afraid of meeting any opposition to his nomination on this side of the House.

Now, sir, there might be, I do not know that it ever will be, but there might be a grave question presented to the consideration of the House growing out of this matter, and that question is this: Whether after the House has committed a matter to a committee for investigation its authority can be trifled with by having the witnesses who may be summoned before that committee met by the way-side by parties implicated, pumped, their documentary evidence taken from them, retained by force, and a contemptuous refusal given to the committee when it calls for the production of papers thus obtained. Such a question, I say, might be raised, but I do not know that it ever will.

Sir, the gentleman has read a letter from a Mr. Robinson, and although I was not present when he was examined, I believe when that witness was asked if he had had an interview with Mr. BLAINE he denied it, until after a great deal of questioning, and coaxing, and persuading he finally admitted that he had had such an interview.

Mr. HUNTON. Let me state in regard to that matter that Mr. ASHE asked the witness the question whether he had talked of this matter with any gentlemen since his arrival in Washington. He said he had talked to one or more. Mr. ASHE asked him to name them, and he named one. Mr. ASHE asked him whether with any one else, and he answered yes, with Mr. A. B. Mr. ASHE asked him if that was all, and he answered yes, to Mr. C. D. He was then asked, "Is that all?" and he answered, "Yes; that is all." At that point I asked him, "Have you not talked this matter over with Mr. BLAINE since you arrived in Washington City?" and he said he had.

Mr. BLAINE. Who is that?

Mr. HUNTON. The witness Robinson.

Mr. BLAINE. Yes, he came to tell me how you had been coaching him. [Great laughter.]

Mr. KNOTT. I was remarking that every request preferred by Mr. BLAINE or his friends on the subcommittee has been granted. Whenever a legal question has been raised at his request or that of his friends and submitted to the whole committee, it has in every instance been decided, so far as I know and believe, with the utmost impartiality. When, for instance, a question was raised as to whether a certain witness should tell what Josiah Caldwell had told him about the seventy-five-thousand-dollar-bond transaction, it was objected on the part of Mr. BLAINE that Mr. Caldwell was out of the jurisdiction of the United States, and the witness was not allowed to say a word about Mr. Caldwell.

A proposition was then made that Mr. Caldwell should be telegraphed to know if he would come here and give his testimony. That was objected to by Mr. BLAINE and his friends. Why? Because, forsooth, Mr. Caldwell would not come if we were to telegraph for him. The question was submitted to the full committee, and it was determined not to telegraph to him. But other witnesses continually referring to matters of which they had heard showed the absolute necessity of having Mr. Caldwell's testimony if it could be obtained. After considerable delay the committee concluded that they

would telegraph to him, and the chairman was instructed to do so. I asked my friend from Virginia [Mr. HUNTON] to ascertain Mr. Caldwell's address, and he endeavored to do so, and left this memorandum with one of the officers of the House:

Find some man from Arkansas and learn where in Europe is Josiah Caldwell.

After all the investigations that the officer of the House could make we could not find out where Mr. Caldwell was. I myself inquired of several gentlemen, and requested one of them to write to Boston to ascertain where Caldwell was. It is true—and now I am going to make the gentleman from Maine happy, I have now doubt—that on last Thursday morning, about eight o'clock—I do not know but it might have been a little after eight o'clock, or a little before eight o'clock, or at eight o'clock—I did receive such a telegram; but the gentleman from Maine seems to know precisely when it was—

Mr. BLAINE. I do.

Mr. KNOTT. He seems to know precisely from what point it came. He seems to know precisely the contents of the telegram. He seems to be thoroughly posted upon that subject. Now, right here, permit me to say with regard to the insinuation that that telegram was suppressed elsewhere, any man, high or low, whomsoever he may be, may make it and take the consequences here. I will hurl the falsehood into his teeth. I received it; but, so far from suppressing it, within less than thirty minutes after I received it I read it to several gentlemen. But there was no particular place designated in the despatch as Caldwell's address, save London; no street, no house, no other locality whatever; and it did occur to me, and I am not altogether certain that I do not now believe, it was a fixed-up job; so I thought I would wait a while and see what would come of it.

Mr. FRYE. Allow me to ask you a question there?

Mr. KNOTT. Wait until I get through with this. That dispatch came last Thursday. On Friday we had a general meeting of the committee. I had not the dispatch with me. I am not sure that I would have read it to the committee at that time if I had had it with me, as we were engaged with other matters. I am free to say that I had a suspicion that it was a fixed-up job. I have that suspicion now. The reason why I have it is that other people seem to know so much about it. I am assured that none of the gentlemen to whom I showed it have ever said anything to any mortal man in relation to it.

And I will say further that no longer ago than Saturday last I again asked the friend whom I had asked to write to Boston if he had ascertained for me the address of this Mr. Caldwell, and was told by him that he had not. I intended to telegraph to him; I wanted an answer to a telegram of my own, so that I might know it was genuine. If I failed in that, I intended to hand the telegram I had received to the committee for them to make whatever use they could of it. Nobody is hurt by that. Even if it were published to the four winds of heaven, it is not evidence for any purpose on the Lord's earth, and no lawyer will insinuate that it is.

Now, sir, I will ask if I was under any obligation, legal or moral, to publish a telegram voluntarily sent to myself, without any solicitation upon my part, and in answer to no suggestion that I had made? It struck me as something strange that this man should know so well to whom to telegraph and what to telegraph, before he had ever had any communication at all with me on the subject; and it still strikes me as strange.

Mr. HALE. Will the gentleman from Kentucky allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. KNOTT. Yes, with a great deal of pleasure.

Mr. HALE. The despatch was received, was it not, upon Thursday-morning last?

Mr. KNOTT. I have said so two or three times over distinctly.

Mr. HALE. I want to fix the point; that was the date?

Mr. KNOTT. And the word "London" was at the top of it.

Mr. HALE. Did not that indicate to the gentleman last Thursday morning where Josiah Caldwell was, in order that he might telegraph to him and make certain whether it was a real dispatch? And did the gentleman from Kentucky at once take that method of obtaining information as to the genuineness of the dispatch?

Mr. KNOTT. Now I will answer the gentleman. I had information that this Mr. Caldwell was somewhere in Italy. I had had that information from more than one, that he was on the Continent and not in London. And there being no point in London designated in the dispatch, no street or house in a city where there are millions of people, it struck me that I might as well have gone to hunt for a particular drop of water in the middle of the ocean.

Mr. HALE. Does not the gentleman know that the telegraph operator in London would have learned that address at once, because that is an every-day method of securing the address of a person who has not given his address definitely?

Mr. KNOTT. The gentleman knows more about it than I do.

Mr. HALE. Does not the gentleman know that?

Mr. KNOTT. The gentleman seems to know a great deal about it.

Mr. HALE. I know enough to know that.

Mr. KNOTT. Very well. Now, I say to this House and to the gentleman from Maine that any insinuation of my suppressing any paper, keeping it back illegitimately, for any purpose whatever, is not only gratuitous, but false.

Mr. HALE. Will the gentleman read the dispatch, in order that we may see what there is in it?

Mr. KNOTT. When I get ready I will.

Mr. HALE. Does the gentleman from Kentucky propose to read it upon the floor—

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Kentucky yield?

Mr. KNOTT. I do not yield. I have asked the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. BLAINE,] who seems to be so thoroughly posted, how he got his information about that dispatch, and he has declined to tell. Now let the matter rest right there, just where it is.

Mr. McCRARY. I would like to ask the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary [Mr. KNOTT] whether he communicated the fact of the receipt by him of that dispatch to any of the republican members of the Judiciary Committee?

Mr. KNOTT. I have not; and there are several of my democratic colleagues to whom I have not communicated that fact, and there are many of my most intimate personal friends to whom I have not communicated it. To tell the truth about it, after the day that I received it I gave but little, if any, thought at all to it until the subject was brought up here.

Mr. McCRARY. I wish it understood for myself and republican colleagues on that committee that we had no knowledge of the receipt of that dispatch.

Mr. McMAHON. Will my colleague allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. KNOTT. Yes; with pleasure.

Mr. McMAHON. I would ask the gentleman whether the Committee on the Judiciary authorized him to telegraph to Mr. Caldwell and have Mr. Caldwell telegraph a statement in reply; or was it simply that he should telegraph where he could be found, in order that his personal presence could be secured, and he be subjected to oath and cross-examination?

Mr. KNOTT. I was going to speak of that. The order of the Committee on the Judiciary, as I understood it, was to telegraph to Mr. Caldwell to know if he would come here and give his testimony under oath as a witness, and not that he should volunteer any information at all upon the subject.

Mr. FRYE. I desire to ask the gentleman a question right here. Will the gentleman be kind enough to state to the House what Mr. Caldwell said in that dispatch?

Mr. KNOTT. Has not your friend already stated it? Do you not believe your colleague from Maine?

Mr. FRYE. No, sir. [Laughter.]

Mr. KNOTT. You do not? Well, I do. [Great laughter.]

Mr. FRYE. In other words, if the gentleman from Kentucky refuses to produce that dispatch to the House, I say it seems to be entirely supposable that Mr. BLAINE has not got the whole of that dispatch, and I desire to ask if there is not something else in the dispatch to keep it back?

Mr. KNOTT. No, sir. Does that satisfy you?

Mr. BLAINE and others. Read it, then.

Mr. KNOTT. Will gentlemen "possess their souls in patience?" Let us hear from the gentleman from Maine where he got his information; let us know who has violated the law and how he came to be the recipient of the secrets of this violator of law.

Mr. BLAINE. If the gentleman is through I desire to call the previous question on my resolution. I merely want to test by that whether this House is going to unite—

Mr. KNOTT. I have not yielded the floor. I want to state to the House that this telegraphic dispatch, that was sent to me without any solicitation upon my part, I have it still in my possession, but it is at my room. Its contents are substantially as stated by the gentleman from Maine. Whoever informed him, or however he got his information, I do not know that I can repeat the dispatch in its exact terms. It was to the effect—

Mr. BLAINE. I thought you refused to repeat it.

Mr. KNOTT. Well, who asked you to put in just at this particular time? [Laughter.] You will have an opportunity to tell where you got your information. I was going on to state my recollection of the contents of the dispatch. If I had it here I should not object to reading it. Whether it came from Mr. Caldwell or not I do not know. The purport of it was that he had seen Mr. Thomas A. Scott's testimony in the New York papers; that it was substantially correct; that he had not let Mr. BLAINE have any bonds, and he would send an affidavit to that effect, but that he was engaged in railroad enterprises there and could not come here to give his testimony without serious pecuniary loss. That is substantially what is in the dispatch.

Now, I desire to say that if the gentleman had only waited that dispatch would have been presented to the committee to be made use of in whatever way the committee may have seen proper. I repeat, that from the beginning I have had no desire to injure the gentleman from Maine personally, and especially politically; none whatever. But I have desired, as I still desire, that the truth may be told. As for myself, I had no knowledge of any transac-

tion by the gentleman from Maine inconsistent with the highest personal integrity. I had no desire that he should be injured if innocent. I had, however, and still have, a desire that whoever may be guilty of wrong, we shall "turn on the gas" and let the people see it.

Mr. Blaine then demanded the previous question in the resolution, and after an animated discussion on sundry points of order, Mr. Blaine moved that the rules be suspended to pass the resolution. The Chair decided that no motion to suspend the rules was in order. Mr. Bassing, of Ohio, moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Speaker ruled that the disposition of the resolution was properly before the House upon the motion of the gentleman from Ohio. On the demand of Mr. Page, the yeas and nays were ordered; the question was taken, and there were, yeas, 125; nays, 97; not voting, 86. So the motion was agreed to. Mr. Bassing then moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table. The latter motion was agreed to.

II.

LETTER OF WM. WALTER PHELPS.

IN the beginning of this year, when Mr. Blaine's name began to loom up as a Presidential candidate, the question of his conduct respecting this matter was again brought forward and formal charges against his integrity repeated. In answer to these charges Mr. William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, published the following explanatory letter in defence of Mr. Blaine's character:

[From the *Evening Post*, April 26, 1884.]

To the Editor of the Evening Post.

SIR: On April 7 you made formal charges against James G. Blaine. They are the same which were made eight years ago, and which were, I think, at that time satisfactorily answered. Lest others, however, may, like yourself, have forgotten everything except the misstatements, you must permit me to remind you of the facts. I think I may claim some qualifications for the task. I have long had a close personal intimacy with Mr. Blaine, and during many years have had that knowledge and care of his moneyed interests which men absorbed in public affairs are not inapt to devote upon friends who have had financial training and experience. I do not see how one man could know another better than I know Mr. Blaine, and he has to-day my full confidence and warm regard. I am myself somewhat known in the city of New York, and think I have some personal rank with you and your readers. Am I claiming too much in claiming that there is not one among you who would regard me as capable of an attempt to mislead the public in any way? With this personal allusion—pardonable, if not demanded under the circumstances—I proceed to consider your charges.

The first charge is really the one upon which all the others hinge. I give it in full and in your own language, only italicizing some of your words, in order that my answer may be the clearer. You say:

"In the spring session of Congress in 1869, a bill was before the House of Representatives which sought to renew a land grant to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad of Arkansas, in which some of Mr. Blaine's friends were interested; that an attempt to defeat it by an amendment was made, and was on the point of being successful, and its promoters were in despair; that at this juncture Mr. Blaine, being then Speaker of the House, sent a message to General Logan to make the point of order that the amendment was not germane to the purposes of the bill; that this point of order was accordingly raised and promptly sustained by Mr. Blaine as Speaker, and the bill was in this manner saved; that Mr. Blaine wrote at once to the promoters calling attention to the service he had rendered them, and finally, after some negotiations, secured from them, as a reward for it, his appointment as selling agent of the bonds of the road, on commission, in Maine, and received a number of such bonds as his percentage; that the leading feature of this transaction appeared in two letters of his afterward made public, dated respectively June 29 and October 4, 1869."

Your error is in the facts. Mr. Blaine's friends were not connected with the Fort Smith and Little Rock Road at the time of the passage of this bill. Those to whom you refer as his friends were Caldwell and Fisher. The bill passed in April, 1869. In April, 1869, Mr. Blaine did not know that there was any such man as Caldwell; and Fisher, who was Mr. Blaine's friend, did not know that there was any such enterprise as the Little Rock Railroad in the world. The evidence of these assertions was before Congress, was uncontradicted, and is within your reach. On the 29th of June, nearly eighty days after Congress had adjourned, Mr. Blaine, from his home in Maine, wrote to Fisher, and spoke of Fisher's "offer to admit him to a share in the new railroad enterprise." Fisher had introduced the subject to Mr. Blaine for the first time a week before at the great music festival at Boston. He told him there that Mr. Caldwell, whom Mr. Blaine had not yet seen, had now obtained control of the enterprise and had invited Fisher to join him. At that time Fisher was a sugar refiner of considerable wealth in Boston, had been a partner of Mr. Blaine's brother-in-law, and through him had made Mr. Blaine's acquaintance. The offer Mr. Blaine refers to in his letter was Fisher's offer to induce Caldwell, if he could, to let Mr. Blaine have a share in the bed-rock of the enterprise. Mr. Fisher failed to do this, and Mr. Blaine never secured any interest in the building of the Fort Smith and Little Rock Railroad.

What interest, then, did Mr. Blaine obtain? An interest in the securities of the company. How? By purchase, on the same terms as they were sold on the Boston market to all applicants: sold to Josiah Bardwell, to Elisha Atkins, and to other reputable merchants. He negotiated for a block of the securities, which were divided, as is usual in such enterprises, into three kinds—first-mortgage bonds, second-mortgage bonds, and stock. The price, I think, was *three for one*. That is, the purchaser got first-mortgage bonds for his money, and an equal amount of second-mortgage or land-grant bonds and of stock thrown in as the basis of possible profit. I may be mistaken as to the price, but I think not. I went myself at this time into several adventures of the kind on that ratio, and have always understood that Senator Grimes and his friends got their interests in the Burlington and Missouri Road, a branch of the Union Pacific, on the same basis of three for one. It was the common ratio in that era of speculation. Mr. Blaine conceived the idea that he might retain the second-mortgage bonds as profit and sell the first-mortgage bonds with the stock as a bonus. He believed the first-mortgage bonds were good, and he disposed of them to his neighbors in that faith and with the determination to shield them from loss in case of disaster. Disaster came. The enterprise, like so many others of the kind, proved a disappointment and the bonds depreciated. Mr. Blaine redeemed them all. In one or two cases only had he given a guarantee. In none other was there any legal obligation, but he recognized a moral claim and he obeyed it to his own pecuniary loss. I cannot but feel that the purchasers of these bonds would have fared worse had they been compelled to look to many of those who have sought to give an odious interpretation to Mr. Blaine's honorable conduct. The arrangement for the purchase of the block of securities was made in June or July. The sales of the first-mortgage bonds out of the block were continued through the months of July, August, and September, 1869. The transaction was nearly closed when, in the letter of October 4, Mr. Blaine wrote to Fisher and told him the parliamentary story of the 9th of April. Mr. Blaine had come across it while looking over the *Congressional Globe*, with a natural curiosity to see what had been his decisions during the first

six weeks of his Speakership, and he wrote of it to Fisher as an item in the legislative history of the enterprise into which they had both subsequently entered. It concerned a bill to renew a land-grant made long before the war, to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. The bill had passed the Senate without opposition, and there was no one objecting to it in the House, but the advocates of the Memphis, El Paso and Pacific Railway Bill sought to attach their bill to it as an amendment. This El Paso Bill was known at the time as General Fremont's scheme, and had been urged upon Congress before. It was unpopular, and was openly opposed by General Logan. Wedded to the Little Rock Bill it would gain strength, but the Little Rock Bill would lose strength, and a just measure, universally approved, would be killed in the effort to pull through with it this objectionable measure, which was generally disapproved. Mr. Blaine's letter to Fisher will tell the rest of the story. He wrote: "In this dilemma, Roots, the Arkansas member, came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules, for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that the amendment was entirely out of order because not germane, but he had not sufficient confidence in his knowledge of the rules to make the point. But he said General Logan was opposed to the Fremont scheme, and would probably make it. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment and at once passed without objection." Mr. Blaine added these very significant words: "*At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it I did him a great favor. . . . I thought the point would interest both you and Mr. Caldwell, though occurring before either of you engaged in the enterprise.*"

This seems, Mr. Editor, to dispose of your first charge. The bill was a just one, and Mr. Blaine's friends had no interest in it when it passed the House. Eighty days after the House adjourned Mr. Blaine asked his friends, who had in the mean time taken hold of the enterprise, and had offered him some interest, to let him in as a partner. They refused. They did, however, sell him a block of securities on the same terms they sold them to others, and it proved an unfortunate purchase, for he sold them out among his friends, believing them valuable, and took them all back when they depreciated in value. The letter of Mr. Blaine, written long after the transaction, is his complete vindication. To give it a semblance of evil you assign a date to it six months before it was actually written. The late Judge Black, after an investigation of the whole subject, declared in his characteristic style that "Mr. Blaine's letter proved that the charge [which you repeat against him] was not only untrue but impossible, and would continue so to prove until the Gregorian Calendar could be turned around and October made to precede April in the stately procession of the year."

Your second charge consists of two parts. The first part is that Mr. Blaine wrongfully asserted that "the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road derived its life and value and franchise wholly from the State [of Arkansas], and not from Congress; whereas the evidence subsequently taken disclosed the fact that the road derived the value on which these bonds were based from the Act of Congress of which Mr. Blaine secured the passage." It will be found that you have inaccurately quoted Mr. Blaine's language, or rather that you put language into his mouth which he never used. What Mr. Blaine did say was, "The railroad *company* derived its life, value, and franchises from the State of Arkansas." And Mr. Blaine stated the precise truth. What are the facts? More than thirty years ago Congress granted to the States of Mis-

souri and Arkansas a certain quantity of public lands to aid in the construction of certain lines of railway. The franchises which should be granted to the companies that should build the road were expressly left by Congress to the Legislatures of the States. Mr. Blaine spoke, therefore, with absolute precision of language, as he usually does, when he stated that "the Little Rock Railway Company derived its life, value, and franchises wholly from the State of Arkansas," just as the Illinois Central Railroad Company derives its life, value, and franchises from the State of Illinois, though enriched by a land-grant from the United States, just as the Little Rock Road was.

The second part of your second charge is, that Mr. Blaine did not speak truthfully when he asserted that he bought the bonds "at precisely the same rate as others paid." There is no evidence anywhere to sustain this accusation. I have already said any person could negotiate for them on the one-for-three basis just as Mr. Blaine did, and many availed themselves of the opportunity. The price paid was not in the least affected by the fact that Mr. Blaine had already arranged to sell the securities at a higher price than he paid for them. He did this with the determination, honorably maintained, that he would make good any loss which might accrue to the purchasers. These sales did not change the price paid to Fisher, and the proof that they did not is found in the fact that Mr. Blaine paid it to him in full. You speak in this connection of Mr. Blaine's being appointed an agent to sell the bonds of the company. No such appointment was ever made and no evidence suggests it. Mr. Blaine negotiated for his securities at a given price, which was paid in full to Mr. Fisher.

Your third formal charge relates to an alleged connection of Mr. Blaine with a share in the Northern Pacific enterprise. You charge this in the face of the fact that in Mr. Blaine's letter, in which you find the subject referred to, was his distinct asseveration that he could not himself touch the share. Have you seen any evidence that he did? I have not. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company has been organized and reorganized, and recently reorganized a second time. Its records of ownership and interest have passed under the official inspection of at least a hundred men, many of whom are political enemies and some of whom are to my knowledge personal enemies of Mr. Blaine, and there has never been a suggestion or hint from any of these that in any form whatever Mr. Blaine had the remotest interest in the Northern Pacific Company. If one of your associates has such evidence, it is right that he should produce it.

Your fourth charge is, that after Mr. Blaine got possession of the so-called Mulligan letters, "he subsequently read such of them as he pleased to the House in aid of his vindication." The answer is that Mulligan's memorandum of the letters, in which he had numbered and indexed each one of them, was produced, and number and index corresponded exactly with the letters read. This was fully demonstrated on the floor of the House, and is a part of its records.

You repeat the charge that Mr. Blaine received a certain sum from the Union Pacific Railway Company for seventy-five bonds of the Little Rock Road. You say this without a particle of proof. You say it against the sworn denial of Thomas A. Scott, who was the party alleged to have made the negotiation. You say it against the written denial of Mr. Sidney Dillon, President of the company; against the written denial of E. H. Rollins, Treasurer of the company; against the written denial of Morton, Bliss & Company, through whose banking-house the transaction was alleged to have been made. Against this mountain of direct and positive testimony from every

one who could by any possibility have personal knowledge of the alleged transaction, you oppose nothing but hearsay and suspicion as the ground of a serious charge against the character of a man long eminent in public life. The courtesy which admits me to your columns prevents my saying what I think of your recklessness in this matter.

Your fifth charge arraigns Mr. Blaine's policy as an executive officer, and your last charge is that of his packing conventions in his own favor. I do not desire to dwell upon either. This is not the place to review his foreign policy to which you refer, and I am content to remark that however much some Eastern journals may criticise, it is popular with a large majority of the American people. It is simply an American policy, looking to the extension of our commerce among the nations of this continent, and steadily refraining from European complications of every character.

The charge of packing conventions needs no answer. This is the third Presidential campaign in which Mr. Blaine has been undeniably the choice of a large proportion of the Republican Party. In each of them he has had the active opposition of the National Administration, with the use of its patronage against him. Mr. Blaine has control of no patronage. He has no Machine. Machine and patronage have been persistently against him. Whatever prominence he has enjoyed has been conferred by the people. He has no means, not open to every citizen, of influencing public opinion. No campaign in his favor originated elsewhere than among the people. He has never sought office. He never held a position to which he was not nominated by the unanimous voice of his party. He has not sought the Presidency. Circumstances made him a candidate in 1876, almost before he was aware of it. In 1880 he did not wish to enter the canvass. I was one of a small party of intimate friends who, in a long conference in February, 1880, persuaded him that it was his duty. He has done nothing to make himself a candidate this year. He has asked no man's support. He has written no letters, held no conversations, taken no steps looking to his candidacy. He has never said to his most intimate friends that he expected or desired the nomination.

If, upon a review of the whole case, you should charge that it would have been better and wiser for Mr. Blaine to have refrained from making any investment in a railroad that had directly or indirectly received aid from the legislation of Congress, I should be ready to agree with you, not because the thing was necessarily wrong in itself, but because it is easy for such matters to be so represented as to appear wrong. But why should Mr. Blaine be selected for special reprobation and criticism when so many other Senators and Representatives have been similarly situated? I know of my own knowledge that Governor Morgan, Mr. Samuel Hooper, Senator Grimes, and many of my friends while in Congress acquired and held interests in such enterprises; and neither you nor I nor the people suspected the transaction to be wrong, or that it gave them an advantage over other investors. Why entertain and publish that suspicion against Mr. Blaine alone? When I sat as a delegate-at-large in the last National Convention, Senator Edmunds and Senator Windom were both candidates for the Presidency, and I should gladly have supported either. Senator Edmunds was understood to have a block of Burlington and Missouri securities, and Senator Windom had not only a block in the securities of the Northern Pacific Company, but was one of its directors. Yet you find no fault with these gentlemen. Nor would you and I differ in giving the highest rank to Senator Grimes; but both he and Senator Edmunds acquired their interests in the Burlington and Missouri

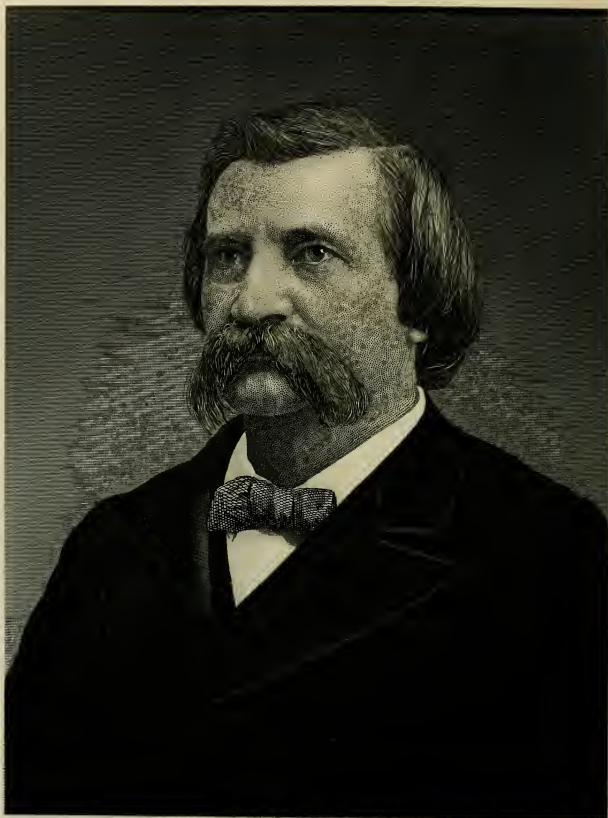
Road when they were in the Senate. They both supported the bill to restore the land grant to their road. It was passed on the same day with the Little Rock Bill. Both measures were just, and both were passed in the House and Senate without a dissenting vote. Why must we suspect that Mr. Blaine had a secret and corrupt motive, and that other members and Senators had none?

Let me add a circumstance which seems to me to be not only significant but conclusive of Mr. Blaine's conscious innocence in this Fort Smith transaction. He voluntarily made himself a party of record in a suit against the Fort Smith and Little Rock Railway Company, in the United States Circuit Court, which involved the nature and sources of his ownership in the property. This was before he was named for the Presidency. If he had obtained this ownership dishonorably, would he have courted this publicity?

I have thus ventured, Mr. Editor, to make answer to the charges you have brought against Mr. Blaine. There are other charges equally baseless which I have read, but in other papers, so that I may not claim your space to deny or answer them. I give two examples. Mr. Blaine is represented as the possessor of millions, while I personally know that he was never the possessor of the half of one million. He was represented as living for the past ten years in palatial grandeur in Washington. He sold that palatial mansion, with all its furniture, to Mr. Travers for \$24,500, and got all that it was worth. But you are responsible only for such charges as you have made, and I have, therefore, made answer to them authoritatively over my own name, and I challenge denial of any substantial fact I have stated. Your attacks are not on Mr. Blaine alone; they are on his friends as well, and these are certainly a larger and more devoted body of supporters than can be claimed by any other man in public life. It seems to me, as I recall those in every station who are proud to be numbered among them, that I recognize many of the ablest, truest, and most honorable of our countrymen.

WM. WALTER PHELPS.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1884.



John A. Logan

AUTHORIZED EDITION.

A
BIOGRAPHY
OF
GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN,
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
HIS PUBLIC SERVICES
IN PEACE AND IN WAR.

BY
BYRON ANDREWS.

ILLUSTRATED.

H. S. GOODSPEED & CO.
NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

1884.



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TO THE
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
THIS BIOGRAPHY
OF THE
FIRST COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ORDER
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.





PREFACE.

It is not curiosity alone that creates a desire in the minds of people to read the biographies of candidates for President and Vice-President. It is true that the most enjoyable reading one can find is the life of a man who has risen from humble walks to a position of eminence among his fellows. To follow his career from boyhood to manhood, to enter with him the rugged pathway of his life, and to pursue it with him to the end, leaving him resplendent on the heights of fame, has a fascination beyond that of any other kind of literature. But there is a deeper reason than all these for the avidity with which the American people peruse the pages of a biography of candidates. It is to learn as nearly as possible the breadth and depth of their statesmanship, their knowledge and experience, their capabilities to manage the affairs of our nation, as well as their veneration for and loyalty to the principles upon which our Republic is founded. They examine carefully into the records of the candidates in whom they are to confide the great trust of national honor and national prosperity, and hence the necessity for a truthful history.

The nomination of Gen. JOHN A. LOGAN was strongly evidenced as coming directly from the people. It was a great disappointment to the Grand Army of the Republic and all the old soldiers, that his name did not head the ticket, but when the National Convention unanimously nominated him for Vice-President, they accepted this token of honor for their favorite, and hastened to ratify the nomination of the ticket.

Gen. JOHN A. LOGAN has had a remarkable career, not only as a military man, but as a statesman. It is seldom we find the two gifts in one personality. The same invincible courage that won him laurels on the battle-field has distinguished him as a statesman. It was therefore thought that a biography of him, truthfully presented, would supply a public necessity, and place his political and military history fairly before the country.

In the preparation of this work we have had the advantage of a free access to all the political and military records, both public and private,

connected with the man. We have spared no expense in gathering other material for this work. Every fact has been carefully sifted. A visit to Southern Illinois gave us the facts of his early life. Here we found people who have known him all his life, and it is a singular fact that not one was found that did not believe in the integrity and uprightness of the man. No matter how much they might differ with him politically, they pronounced him "true as steel." Soldiers in every part of the Union have been consulted. We have been surprised at the depth of feeling manifested by the veterans of the war. We have interviewed hundreds of them, and have written to many more. All seemed to take a pride in consulting old letters, diaries, &c., to give us truthful statements. Officers as well as private soldiers have contributed freely. At his home in Chicago, among his friends and neighbors, we have collected much valuable information. At Washington we gathered many facts and impressions from those who have watched his course in the National Capitol since the war. We have had long interviews with many who have sat with him in the Halls of National Legislation and have had an opportunity to study the man as a Statesman. One and all believe him to be a man that can be thoroughly trusted. We have been careful to consult Democrats as well as Republicans, that our work might be impartial.

It is to these sources of information that we are indebted for much we have given our readers. To this is added the personal acquaintance of the author. Hence the work is authentic, and will take its place as one of the standard biographies of eminent Americans.

It will be placed in the library of the educated man as a book of reference among the biographies of such men as WEBSTER, CLAY and LINCOLN. Our only regret is that we may have fallen short in doing complete justice to his remarkable career, and to his excellent traits of mind and heart, but we have the consciousness of knowing that the biography has been faithfully prepared and faithfully recorded.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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BIOGRAPHY

OF

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FARM TO CONGRESS.

A dramatic life.—His father's striking characteristics.—His Celtic ancestry.—The old homestead.—Birth of John A. Logan.—His early training.—Goes to Shiloh College.—Service in the Mexican War.—Returns a commissioned officer.—He attends a law university.—Forms a law partnership with his uncle.—Elected to the State Legislature.—Resumes his profession.—A brilliant record as Public Prosecutor.—Again sent to the Legislature.—A Presidential Elector.—Nominated for Congress.—Takes his seat and opposes the ultra wing of his party.—His voice raised in behalf of the Union.—He rebukes treason.—Goes to the Charleston Convention.—Witnesses the inhumanities of slavery.—The scales fall from his eyes and he sees light.

THE man of whom these pages treat, needs no apologist. The eye of more than a generation has been fixed upon his public career, and not one of the shafts of calumny sent from the ever-drawn bow of partisan malignity has pierced the shining mail of his untarnished integrity. Nor has he filled the place of mediocre honesty merely, but whether upon the field of battle, in the halls of Congress, or in the forum of legal debate, he has been pre-eminent. Rising as he did from the ranks to the command of an army, the simple story of his life forms one of the most dramatic chapters in contemporary history. No pen can clothe the career of Richard Cœur de Lion, of Sir William Wallace, or of Wallenstein, with more

thrilling interest than invests a truthful narrative of his deeds of prowess and sagacity in war, or bold conceptions in the councils of peace.

The history of the United States for the past twenty-five years has been the most important since the foundation of the Republic. The structure of the government has been practically remodeled. This little era of years has witnessed the decadence of a provincial allegiance to the separate States, and a corresponding growth of Nationality. From an ill-assorted confederation, we have become a compact Nation, and the greatest power of modern times. On every page of the annals of this period of transition, John A. Logan has left the imprint of his genius.

Such a man can never receive full justice during his lifetime. It is only when his work is ended, that the historian may tell all the truth, free from the imputation of man-worship which repels where the writer intended to engage his reader, and defeats his aim through an inexorable prejudice in the human mind against book-praise of a contemporary. The wings of Truth must therefore be clipped to ensure her stronger flight.

General Logan's father was Dr. John Logan, who came to this country from the north of Ireland, in the early part of the present century, settling first in the State of Maryland. Afterwards, he was carried with the westward current to Missouri, and there married a French lady, the daughter of one of the old families of the province. She possessed wealth and social position, and the fortunes of the young physician were most promising, when his wife was stricken by early death, leaving one daughter as the fruit of the marriage. Dr. Logan, soon after this event, crossed the Mississippi, and took up his residence in Illinois, at what was then "Brownsville," the seat of Jackson county. Here he made the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth Jenkins, a sister of Lieutenant-Governor A. M.

Jenkins, and they were married after a brief acquaintance. Their eldest child was John Alexander Logan, born February 9, 1826, the subject of this biography. Subsequently, their family increased to eleven children. The family homestead was a large farm, near Brownsville, where now stands the town of Murphysboro', and in a capacious log house, remaining intact until recently destroyed by fire, the children were born and passed their youth.

Dr. Logan was a man of great force of character and scholarly attainments. Besides being the most skillful physician in that region, he was well versed in the classics and the masters of English literature. He took great pride in his fine farm, and in breeding and improving his horses and cattle. He was a devotee of field sports, and kept his hounds for the hunt. In short, he was a type of the courtly Irish gentleman, yet he had a profound hatred for a pretentious aristocracy, being a consistent democrat in his views upon social questions. He held himself above the forms of dissipation incident to a frontier life, and was never heard to utter an oath. His integrity was of the strictest sort, and became proverbial in all the region where he was known. His hospitality was famous, and in those good old days of the Circuit Rider, the Methodist minister always stopped and preached at Dr. Logan's house in making his rounds.

It was but natural that such a man should lay carefully the foundation for future usefulness in his son, by the closest attention to his early education. Being a studious man himself, he instilled in the mind of the boy the importance and power of knowledge. The facilities for education being limited, as in all new countries, he supplemented his own training and that of the common school by the employment of a private tutor, who lived in the family and taught the children. John was an apt scholar in the languages, taking kindly to the

intricacies of the Greek verb and the verses of the Roman poets.

General Logan's mother came of Scottish ancestors. She was endowed with those characteristics peculiar to her bold and sagacious race. She survived until 1877, some twenty-six years longer than her husband, and was tall and stately, persevering and unerring of judgment, preserving her traits of mind and person to the last.

There were many things which tended to make young Logan a manly, self-reliant boy, besides the characteristics inherited from his sturdy parents. He was the eldest son of a large family of brothers and sisters, and naturally began to be looked up to, at an early age, with a certain amount of deference in the management of the farm during the continual absence of his father, whose practice took him far and wide over a broad extent of territory. Under such circumstances he soon realized the nature of the practical responsibilities of life, and these responsibilities awakened the power to meet them. He thus became a leader among his fellows, as courage and capacity will always find followers among less self-asserting natures. In all the accomplishments of youth he excelled. He was the best horseman, the strongest swimmer, the surest shot, and the finest player on the violin in the neighborhood. He manifested the same intensity of character, pluck, aptitude, and perseverance in all he did which have marked his career as a man.

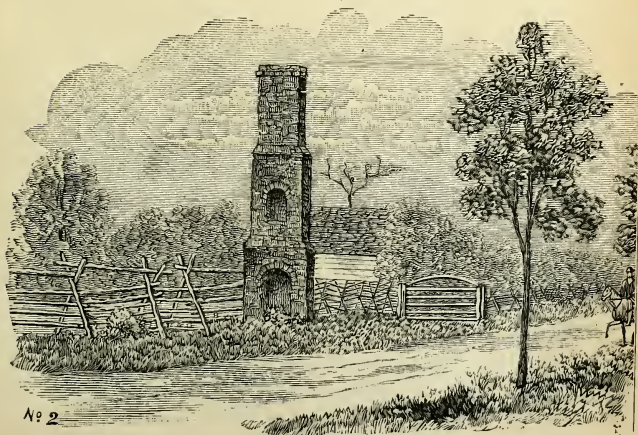
Prof. Thomas, Entomologist of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, who married one of the General's sisters, tells many interesting anecdotes of his exploits when a boy, one of which will suffice to show his early confidence and courage.

When he was about fifteen years old he determined to build a flat-boat to navigate the Muddy river which flowed



GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN'S BIRTHPLACE.

(From a Photograph in possession of the family.)



RUINS OF THE HOUSE WITH ITS PICTURESQUE SURROUNDINGS.

(From a recent Photograph taken by the family.)

by the farm. The boat was built, when, like the craft of Robinson Crusoe, it was found to be useless for the purpose intended unless it could be safely launched upon the river. It was brought to the edge of the stream, where the question arose as to who should pilot it out upon the swift and turbulent current. No one volunteered for the emergency, and the boy declared that he would undertake the feat alone. Without a moment's hesitation he sprang aboard and pushed it off, handling the unwieldy boat with safety, to the admiration of his timid companions.

A gentleman, who is still living, tells of his first seeing young Logan at his father's house, more than forty-five years ago. At this time the gentleman in question was a clock-maker, and called to repair a tall, old-fashioned timepiece, which stood against the wall in the doctor's house. The boy, then a bright, black-eyed lad of about thirteen, watched his operations with great interest, as he took the works apart and spread them out upon a table. As he progressed, John remarked, "I think I could learn that business pretty soon," and Mr. Barlow says he thought, from his intelligence, he could, and laughingly told him so.

Thus he grew up a favorite wherever he was known, for his bright, cheery ways, companionable nature, and manly traits, alternately working on the farm and attending school, or pursuing his studies under the guidance of the tutor, who, among other things, gave him his first hints about the art of oratory, which he afterwards turned to so good account.

When sixteen years of age, he began a course of study at Shiloh College, where he was always one of the best students during the three years he spent in its halls. He delighted in debates, and was regarded the finest declaimer in the institution.

In this connection, the writer is reminded of an incident

which occurred in recent years. Senator Logan was convalescent after a painful attack of rheumatism, and in a jocular mood. In the course of a call upon him under these circumstances, he remarked : " I have an old document, somewhere among my papers, which I think I might give to some of you newspaper men to publish."

In answer to a question as to the nature of the paper, the General replied : " It is a diploma I got, when I was a boy, for standing at the head of my class in grammar."

It may be stated here that the criticism in the press, from time to time, upon General Logan's alleged lack of learning, is one of those myths which gain currency about men in public life without foundation, and find popular credence from repetition, regardless of their baseless origin. Lucky the public man who has no more vulnerable point of attack than his grammar ! The fact is, that General Logan had superior educational advantages to those enjoyed by Washington, or Jackson, or Lincoln, and he improved them.

Says the New York *Tribune* : " General Logan fought his own way bravely through college with what help a hard-working doctor in a pioneer country could give his several sons ; was graduated honorably, studied law awhile with his uncle, and then was graduated from the regular law school. Perhaps his English may sometimes betray traces of the pioneer habits of a third of a century ago in Southern Illinois. He speaks the French and Spanish languages, is an enthusiast in Shakespeare, of which he can repeat whole plays by heart. He has been known among his brother Senators to correct a Harvard graduate in Latin pronunciation, and a Williams graduate in Shakespearean quotation, and his familiar acquaintance with modern tongues is reported to have stood in the breach where other Senators faltered and fell."

Says the venerable historian and journalist, Maj. Ben: Perley

Poore, in speaking of Logan : " His language compares favorably with that of other Senators in debate."

He is one of the very few members of either branch of Congress who never revises his speeches before publication in the *Congressional Record*.

The story of his illiteracy is on a par with the report that he has Indian blood in his veins, whereas his extraction is Celtic, as has been shown in the earlier pages of this narrative. This impression arose probably from two things : first, the General's swarthy complexion, and straight, black hair ; and second, because there was in the school-books of twenty-five years ago an alleged oration of a Cayuga chief called " Logan."

His college life was cut short by the stirring events of 1846. It was precisely what was to be expected from a young man of Logan's nature, that he should respond to the summons at the first call to arms. His studies had given him a zest for wider experience. He longed to see a foreign land and strange people. His spirit had the martial inclination of his ancestors of the clans, whose blood coursed in his veins. The fire of patriotism was born within him, and he hastened to enlist in the 1st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, joining Company H. He was promoted to lieutenant, and marched with his command into Mexico, having served with such distinction, that, although only in his twenty-first year, he was made quartermaster of his regiment.

Upon his return from the war he was the hero of the community, and at once was accorded that position of influence among the people of Southern Illinois, from which he has never taken a backward step. In casting about for a profession he decided to adopt the law. In 1849, the year following the close of the war, he was elected clerk of Jackson County, but in 1850 he resigned in order to go to Louisville, where he entered as a student in the Law Department of the University.

Graduating with honors, he returned once more to Murphysboro and entered into partnership with his uncle, Lieut.-Governor Jenkins, a Jacksonian Democrat.

His practice was lucrative from the first, and he was immediately recognized as one of the rising lawyers of the State. He met the brightest ornaments of the bar, and by ready resource, brilliant oratory, and a thorough knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence gained a reputation that brought him eager clients. It was under such headway toward opulence and professional distinction, that he was summoned again to a position of public trust, and began that official career in which his life has since been spent, to his personal disadvantage from a material point of view, but to the glory of his name and the honor of his country.

Small matters often fix the destiny of a man. If General Logan had confined his exertions to the field of his profession he would probably be to-day in the enjoyment of vast wealth, with a practice worth fifty thousand dollars a year. He was born for public affairs, however, and following the bent of his nature, he yielded to the solicitation of admiring friends and became a candidate for the State Legislature in 1852. His district comprised the counties of Jackson and Franklin, and had some years before been represented by his father. The young man's competitor was an old and well-known politician, and the canvass was sharply contested. Logan was elected by a very large majority.

Resuming his interrupted practice at the close of his term, he was at once brought forward as a candidate for Prosecuting Attorney for the Third Judicial District. His experience at the bar had been chiefly in criminal cases, or at any rate he had naturally attracted attention in trials of this class mainly, and his success had been so signal that his fitness for the position of public prosecutor was spontaneously acknowl-



MRS. JOHN A. LOGAN.

edged. He had already established a reputation for integrity, his acquirements and ability were unquestioned, and, what was of great moment in those days, he was known to be possessed of undaunted courage. But a short time before, after his return from the Mexican war, he had gained great fame by his pursuit of a band of horse-thieves who had taken refuge in Southwestern Missouri, and the recapture from the outlaws of his neighbors' horses which had been stolen.

He was triumphantly elected District Attorney, and during his term of office increased his legal fame by a career of uninterrupted success. Not a criminal escaped whom he brought to trial, and not an indictment was quashed.

It was during this period that he went to Shawneetown to attend court, and accepted an invitation to dinner at the house of his old friend and comrade of the Mexican war, Capt. Cunningham. There he met the captain's daughter, a beautiful girl of seventeen, who had just returned home, after completing her education at St. Vincent's Academy, at Morganfield, Ky. They were married in the ensuing autumn, November 27, 1855, and the young lady of thirty years ago is to-day unquestionably the best known and most popular woman in the United States.

A writer in the *Philadelphia Times* gives the following sketch of the early life of Mrs. Logan :

"The American ancestry of Mrs. Logan goes back to a sturdy Irish settler of Virginia and a French pioneer of Louisiana. Her great-grandfather, Robert Cunningham, of Virginia, was a soldier of the War for Independence, after which he removed to Tennessee, thence to Alabama, and thence to Illinois, when still a Territory, and there manumitted his slaves. Her father, Captain John M. Cunningham, served in the fierce Black Hawk war. He was a member of the Legislature of Illinois in 1845 and '46, and served in the Mexican

War. Her mother was Miss Elizabeth Fontaine, of a distinguished family of that name, which had arrived in Louisiana during the French occupancy of that country, and had thence journeyed up the Mississippi river and settled in Missouri. It was here that John Cunningham met his bride, and it was near the present village of Sturgeon, then known as Petersburg, in Boone County, Mo., that Mary Simmerson Logan was born, on August 15, 1838. When she was one year old, her parents removed to Illinois, and settled at Marion, in Williamson County. It was here that the mother and the oldest daughter, then but nine years old, shared the dangers of a frontier home and the cares and solitude of a growing family, when the husband and father went forth to fight the battles of his country upon the parched plains of Mexico, and braved the trials and privations of a miner's life in the Sierras of California.

“The father felt a just pride in his eldest daughter. The assistance which she had rendered her mother during his long absence in Mexico and California had even more closely endeared her to his heart, and her love of study had prompted him to give part of his income to her proper education. Accordingly, in 1853, the daughter was sent to the Convent of St. Vincent, near Morganfield, Ky., a branch of the Nazareth Institute, the oldest institution of the kind in the country. This was the nearest educational establishment of sufficient advancement in the higher branches of knowledge. The young lady was reared a Baptist ; after her marriage she joined the Methodist Church, the Church of the Logan family.”

In 1856, the people of his district again insisted upon his becoming a candidate for the Legislature, and he made the canvass during the famous “Fremont Campaign,” being elected practically without opposition. His career in the Legislature was conspicuous, and he was heard upon every

measure of importance to the people of the State at large. He was recognized as one of the leading members, and became well known throughout the State. He showed the same fearless courage of conviction then that has characterized his later life.

When Bissel was elected Governor of Illinois, Logan made a strong opposition to his being permitted to qualify, on the ground that he had been guilty of fighting a duel. The constitution provided that no man who had ever participated in a duel should hold any civil office in the State. Logan contended that the fact of his having accepted this challenge to fight a duel had placed him under a constitutional disqualification from holding the office ; and in support of his position, he made one of the strongest arguments that has ever been made in the Illinois Legislature—an argument for which he has no occasion at this day to apologize or be ashamed. An argument against the practice of dueling at that time, by a Democrat of his standing, was something very remarkable. He took the position in the argument that the duello was the relic of a savage and barbarous age, and had been so pronounced by the Constitutional Convention of Illinois, and that it was wrong in the Legislature or the people, in any manner, even indirectly, to endorse such an uncivilized method of settling grievances.

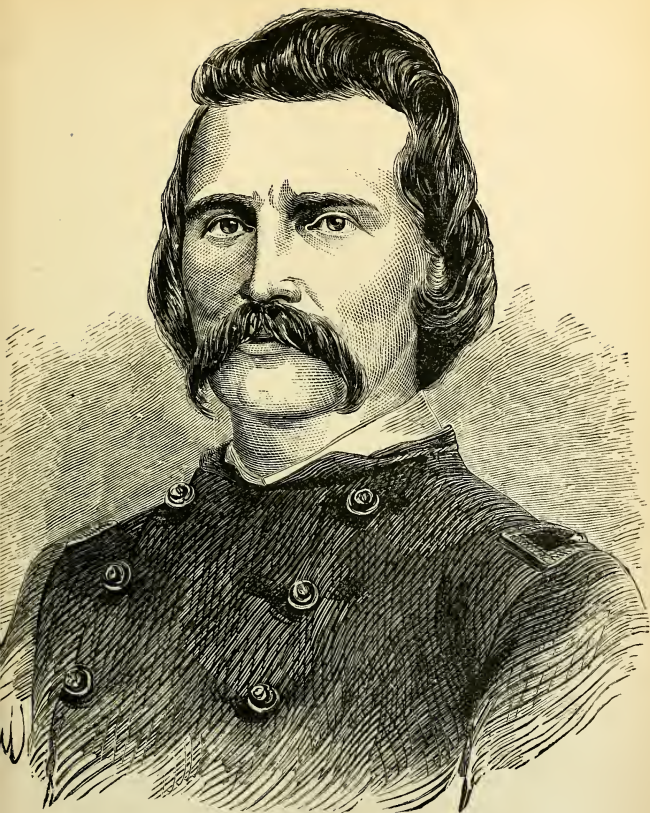
This year he was a Presidential elector on the Buchanan and Breckenridge ticket, speaking in various parts of the State for the candidates of his party.

In 1858, at the age of thirty-two, he was nominated for Congress as a Democrat, in the Ninth district, and was chosen by the largest majority ever given at a Congressional election. His district embraced sixteen counties, known as "Egypt," and as its Representative he took his seat in the Thirty-sixth Congress. Stephen A. Douglas was the young Congressman's

friend, and his ideal of a statesman. He naturally allied himself to Douglas, who was then the most prominent man in his party in the West, and followed his lead, so far as consistency would allow, in public matters. Even at this time the virulent enemies of the ascendant influence of the free States were rampant in attitude and violent in speech, and the energies of the "valiant Egyptian" were devoted to the restraint of hostility to the Union. His voice was raised for the cause of loyalty. He rebuked incipient treason, and merited the contumely of the Southern leaders, who were plotting to bring headlong ruin upon the Union unless they were allowed to rule its fortunes as the price of peace.

Returning home at the expiration of his first term in Congress, he was sent as a delegate to the Charleston Convention, and for the first time in his life had an opportunity to see the horrors of slavery. He witnessed the brutal scenes of the auction block, where men were sold for a price like cattle, and every human instinct outraged by remorseless power. The revolting inhumanities of the slave-pen were disclosed. The ulcer was laid bare in all its disgusting corruption. The intolerance of the Southern slave-holding aristocracy, actuated only by the lust of gold and power, was revealed in its true nature. The scales fell from his eyes and he saw the light.

After his return to Congress, therefore, he understood, as he had never before, the true motives behind the course of the slave oligarchy, and he foresaw that by some means the downfall of so barbarous a system was inevitable. His subsequent support of the "Crittenden Compromise" did not indicate his endorsement of slavery, but his desire to avert a great calamity if possible.



LIEUT. LOGAN AT THE CLOSE OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

CHAPTER II.

FROM CONGRESS TO THE BATTLE-FIELD.

He proves himself a leader.—Re-elected to Congress as a Douglas Democrat.—Support of Lincoln and the will of the people.—His reverence for the Constitution.—Taunted with being an Abolitionist.—Is opposed to a war.—His platform: "The Union forever."—In citizen's attire he carries a musket at the first Bull Run.—His position questioned by his constituents.—Threatened with a mob.—Returns home.—He makes a speech, and enlists a regiment of 1,010 men.—Resigns his seat in Congress.—To him alone General Grant attributes the loyalty of Southern Illinois.—Irrefragable evidence of his loyalty at the beginning of the war.—A candid statement of his political views at that time.

THE year 1860 saw the turning-point of many a public man's career in the United States. Out of the crisis in the Nation's affairs, the strongest rose to the surface, as the weakest were buried. It was a time when merit becomes conspicuous, and the eye of the public, searching for leaders, quickly discerns the innate differences in men, and chooses, usually with unerring judgment, between superiority and fortunate mediocrity. At such junctures, new measures are born, old paths of thought and action are deserted, and men who are wise enough and bold enough, bravely cast old issues behind them, and follow their conscience, in defiance of tradition and prejudice.

At this juncture, John A. Logan showed himself to be endowed with those supreme qualities which other men rely upon and follow.

He ran for Congress a second time as a Douglas Democrat.

He was a staunch champion of the "Little Giant," and his efforts upon the stump that year extended his fame as an orator beyond the limits of his native State. It was no small honor to the young Congressman to leap at once to the front rank, among a people who were accustomed to hang upon the eloquence of Lincoln, Yates, and Douglas.

He was elected triumphantly, but witnessed the defeat of the man he most admired in public life, and the success of Abraham Lincoln. His valor and frankness during the campaign had indicated his metal, however, so that, amid the sullen murmurs that beset the President-elect, he knew that in Logan he had an ally ready to sacrifice everything in the protection of his constitutional rights.

Logan had said, more than once, upon the hustings, that, although he advocated with all his might the election of Mr. Douglas, and hoped for the defeat of Mr. Lincoln, yet, should the latter be elected, and any man raise his hand to prevent the lawful fulfillment of the will of the people as expressed at the ballot-box, he "would shoulder his musket to have him inaugurated."

Even then had the bluster of the slave-holding power begun to impress itself seriously upon the people, and the contest for the overthrow of the Federal Government began to rise as a terrible possibility.

Logan has been charged by political opponents with sympathy with slavery at this time; but this, without qualification, cannot be said in candor. The most that can be alleged of his position at this period is that he tolerated it.

What were the circumstances? He had been reared in a pro-slavery atmosphere, and had grown to the full maturity of his powers while Massachusetts and Minnesota were mobbing Abolitionists. He had been taught from his earliest recollection to reverence above all things the Constitution,

which, as our forefathers handed it down to us, recognized and protected the institution of slavery.

Was it to be expected, therefore, that the young man would appear at once entirely different from the mold in which he had been produced? Was it his crime that he had been born and taught in a certain sphere of thought upon the great question which then agitated the country?

General Logan needs no apology for his attitude. He boldly advocated what he thought was true policy at all times. When he saw he was wrong, he was brave enough to say so with equal boldness, and to stake his life upon the issue.

If not an anti-slavery man himself he was, at least, in favor of fair play and free speech. During the stormy session of Congress preceding the outbreak of the war, Mr. Lovejoy, a member from Illinois, rose to speak, and the Southern members closed around him with clenched fists, threatening him with personal violence should he attempt to proceed. Suddenly the stalwart form of the swarthy member from "Egypt" was seen hurrying down the aisle to where his colleague stood. Logan, taking a position at his side, spoke in tones that commanded attention, and caused the hot-blooded Southerners to hesitate. Said he, speaking of Mr. Lovejoy: "He is a representative from Illinois, the State that I was born in, and also have the honor to represent; he must be allowed to speak without interruption, otherwise I will meet the coward or cowards outside of this House, and hold them responsible for further indignities offered to Mr. Lovejoy."

With this, Lovejoy went on unmolested, and made one of the most bitter anti-slavery speeches ever heard upon that floor.

The evidence is abundant, that early in his public career his convictions began to undergo a radical change, and he saw that, from a moral standpoint, slavery was a pernicious thing.

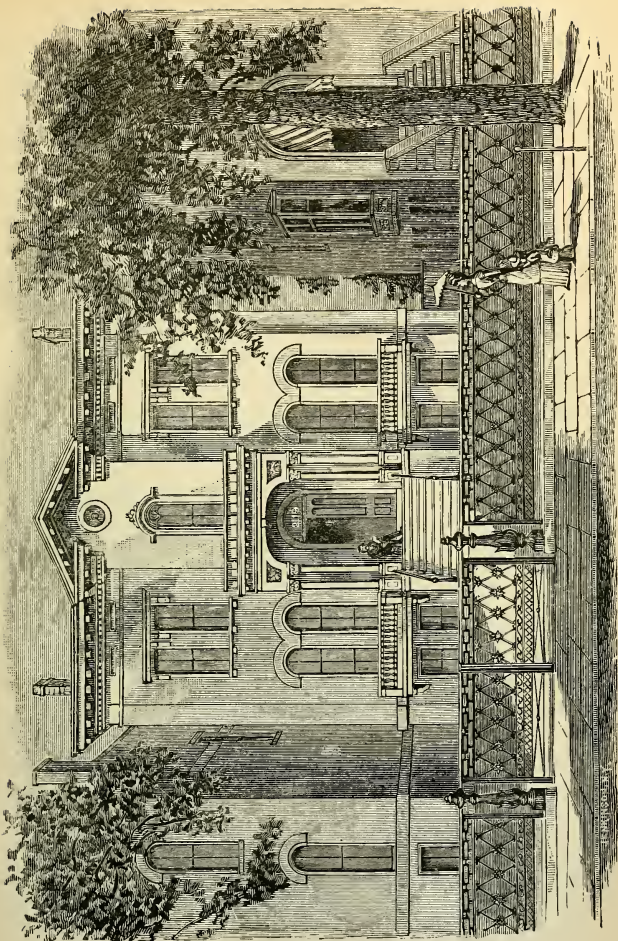
It was an institution which, like polygamy to-day, was an evil, but how to deal with it was a problem involving many complications. There is no doubt that after his visit to the far South, in 1860, when he had his first opportunity to study the conditions of society where Negro slavery existed, he held, and gave public utterance to the sentiment, that slavery was "unquestionably a great wrong." So explicit was he upon this point, that he was even taunted with being an Abolitionist.

Looking back over the events of a quarter of a century of progress in thought, the young generation will fail to appreciate the gigantic stride which Logan made, when he, upon his own judgment, at the beginning of serious trouble, cast off the traditions of his family, and set at defiance the violent sentiment of the people among whom he had passed his life.

It was the conviction of a great man in advance of his constituents. A collision was inevitable. The question was, would he unaided and alone carry the day in the contest that was to come, or would he be borne down by the avalanche of hostile public opinion, which only a short time subsequent to his re-election, began to be dominant in his district.

While these fires were smouldering in Southern Illinois, he departed for Washington and at once entered, with all the intensity of his nature, into the conflict of opinion as to the wisest course to pursue in meeting the demands of the hour.

He was opposed to a war, which is saying little more than that he was a patriot. He knew what war was. He had seen its desolation. He foresaw the tremendous shock to our institutions that would ensue. He realized that the greatest civil strife of modern times, with its fearful cost of blood and treasure, was the inevitable result of a clash of arms. As a statesman he knew that Progress is the twin sister of Peace, while war and human misery stalk hand in hand.



GEN. LOGAN'S RESIDENCE IN CHICAGO, ILL.



In this emergency, however, he never faltered as to his duty, should the worst become inevitable. He tore off the insignia of party, and stood upon a platform with but a single plank,—"The Union forever."

In season and out of season, privately and publicly, he opposed secession.

In December of that year Mr. Morris offered the following : "*Resolved*, By the House of Representatives, that we are unalterably and immovably attached to the Union of the States ; that we recognize in that union the primary cause of our present greatness and prosperity as a nation ; that we have seen nothing, either in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States, or from any other source, to justify its dissolution, and that we pledge to each other 'our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors' to maintain it."

Mr. Logan voted in the affirmative upon this question.

Again, January 7, 1861, a few weeks later, before the first shot of the Rebellion had been fired, or the first call of troops had been issued by Mr. Lincoln., Mr. Logan voted for the resolution which approved "the bold and patriotic act of Major Anderson in withdrawing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and of the determination of the President to maintain him in that position," and binding Congress to "support the President in all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union."

Every Southern Congressman, and Messrs. Pendleton and Vallandigham of Ohio, and Niblack of Indiana, voted against it.

Mr. Logan not only voted for the utterance of the resolution, but fortified his action by the public assertion that it met with his "unqualified approbation."

When the "Crittenden Compromise" was under discussion,

February 5, rising in his place on the floor of the House, he said :

I have always and do yet deny the right of secession. There is no warrant for it in the Constitution. It is wrong, it is unlawful, unconstitutional, and should be called by the right name—revolution. No good, sir, can result from it, but much mischief may. It is no remedy for any grievance. I hold that all grievances can be much easier redressed inside the Union than out of it. I have been taught to believe that the preservation of this glorious Union, with its broad flag waving over us as the shield for our protection on land and on sea, is paramount to all the parties and platforms that have ever existed or ever can exist. I would to-day, if I had the power, sink my own party and every other one with all their platforms into the vortex of ruin without heaving a sigh or shedding a tear, to save the Union, or even stop the revolution where it is.

A public man deserves to be judged out of his own mouth. He knew his own views better than any one else, and if the English language is susceptible of succinct enunciation, General Logan's patriotism at this crisis should be stripped of any uncertainty.

With the firing on Fort Sumter, he saw clearly that all further argument was useless. The die had been cast, and he stood ready to act as he had spoken.

Attired in citizen's dress, he fell into the ranks of a Michigan regiment at the first battle of Bull Run, musket in hand. He fought that day, after thousands of men in uniform had thrown away their arms and were running for their lives, bent only upon regaining the north bank of the Potomac river.

In the meantime, the people of Southern Illinois, growing more and more restless, did not approve of the course of their Representative in Congress. Secession feeling ran high, and Logan was denounced at one public meeting after another,

until he was threatened with mob violence should he dare to show himself in their midst.

The people of that section were chiefly from the Carolinas, Kentucky and Tennessee, while on either hand lay the slave territory of Missouri and Kentucky. Logan himself, on his mother's side, was related to leading families of Tennessee and Virginia, and his course was regarded as that of an apostate. The allegiance of Northern Democrats, who had been accustomed to follow the dictates of the autocrats of the slave power, was wavering everywhere, and it is no wonder that Southern Illinois was ripe for secession.

The period was critical. The people began to clamor for an expression of their Congressman's position from his own lips.

Leaving Washington at the first opportunity, he bent his course homeward. The memorable episode in Logan's life, and in the history of Illinois, which ensued, is graphically told by a well-known journalist, as follows :

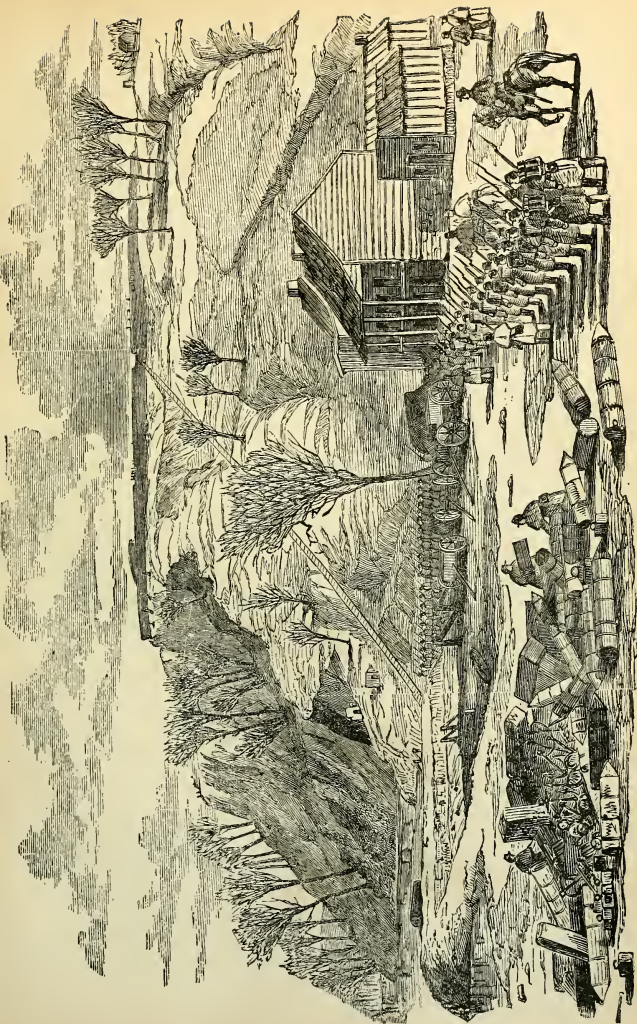
When it became known, therefore, after the battle [Bull Run], that the General was about to return to his district and publicly announce the course he intended to pursue, there was the greatest excitement among his constituents. People even forgot to attend to their ordinary vocations, business was suspended, and the farmers, neglecting their crops, came pouring into Marion—then a little town of 1,000 inhabitants—to await their Representative's return, and hear what he had to say. Mrs. Logan foresaw that in the excited state of the public mind everything would depend upon the circumstances under which her husband made announcement of his intentions. She could not venture out of doors without a crowd collecting about her and questioning her concerning her husband, and she felt that it was of the utmost consequence that he should be able to secure a fair audience, and be able to exert his personal influence to stay the threatened stampede of the secessionists. Many who after-

wards were staunch supporters of the Union were then undecided in opinion, and she knew that the slightest untoward event might turn the scale. It was essential, indeed, for him to retain their confidence, and by his arts of persuasion convince them that his was the only reasonable and patriotic course to pursue. Already resolutions of secession had been passed at meetings in his district, and Mrs. Logan and her husband's friends, in endeavoring to restrain public opinion until their Representative could personally appear and declare his views, had a most delicate and dangerous role to play.

On the day set for his arrival she drove in a buggy all the way to Carbondale, the nearest railway station, and twenty-two miles away, to meet him, but learning there that the train by which he was to have arrived had "missed connections," immediately turned about and drove back to Marion. It was evening when she reached there and the streets were still full of people. They crowded in a mass around her buggy and demanded to know why her husband had not accompanied her. Colonel White, then clerk of the court, and her father, Captain Cunningham, exerted themselves to pacify the mob, but it was not until the sheriff, Mr. Swindell, stood up in her buggy and urged the crowd to disperse, assuring it that Logan would surely be there in the morning and address them, that the clamor could be quelled.

Once released from her unpleasant if not perilous position, Mrs. Logan turned her horse around and in the darkness pluckily set out again on that long ride to Carbondale. It was 2 o'clock in the morning when the train which bore her husband rolled into the depot, but without waiting to rest and refresh themselves, they secured a fresh horse, and by daylight were once more at Marion. The town was still full of people pacing the streets, but on perceiving that General Logan had really arrived, and on receiving his promise to address them at 11 o'clock, they made no demonstration.

That was a morning that the people of Southern Illinois will never forget. At the hour appointed a wagon was drawn up in the public square, from which the General addressed a vast audience. There were those present who had sworn to take his life



FORTIFIED BLUFFS AT COLUMBUS, KY.

if he declared for the Union; but, at the conclusion of his speech, he quietly got down from the wagon and then and there enlisted one hundred and ten men for the first company of the regiment which he proposed to raise in defense of the Union. There happened to be present a fifer and drummer who had served in the Mexican war, and these sturdy old veterans furnished the music. Captain Looney was chosen to command the company, and the General, receiving a telegram from Governor Yates, tendering him a commission as colonel, and asking him to raise a regiment in his district, resigned his seat in Congress,—the first Representative to do so,—accepted the governor's offer, and, within the next ten days, succeeded in enlisting a regiment of 1,010 men.

The writer once—some four years ago—asked General Grant to what he attributed the variance in political sentiment between the people of the lower portions of Illinois and Indiana. Here were two great States lying side by side with common interests and similar occupations. It would seem natural that their position upon public questions should be identical. Yet, Illinois was loyal in the war and Republican usually, while Indiana was a hot-bed of Southern co-operation, and frequently, if not generally, went Democratic.

In his quiet tones the veteran replied, in substance: "I attribute this difference solely to Logan. He went home from Congress at the outbreak of the war, and found his people ready to go with the South. He made a speech to them, and volunteered to lead them himself in defense of the Union. He raised a regiment and turned the tide which would, in my opinion, have swept Southern Illinois over to the Confederacy."

In view of this overwhelming testimony, what can be more strange than that there should be any question as to General Logan's loyalty at the beginning of the war? In fact there

is no question about it in the minds of honest men. No truth that depends upon contemporary evidence, either of record or tradition, rests upon a surer foundation. Yet, the accusation that Logan was a secessionist, and actually encouraged men to join the rebel army, is to-day going the rounds of the columns of certain partisan newspapers, presumably edited by reputable men, who would blush to repeat in the hearing of intelligence, a slander which they write in the solemn deliberation of their sanctums. They know the calumny is a foolish story, started in a political campaign in Illinois eighteen years ago, and is not credited for a moment, except by the ignorant or malicious. The only excuse for alluding to it here is to preserve every safeguard against error through the repetition of a libel which the asperities of a political campaign will induce unscrupulous men to utilize.

Senator Lamar, of Mississippi, who served in Congress with General Logan in 1861, has put the following on record in the archives of the nation: "I never heard a word of sympathy from your lips with secession, either in theory or practice. On the contrary, you were vehement in your opposition to it."

When the calumny was first uttered, General Logan's brother-in-law wrote the following letter:

SCOOPA, MISSISSIPPI, October 15, 1866.

DEAR SIR:—I have just seen an article accusing you of assisting me in recruiting men for the Southern army, furnishing means, etc. Allow me here to state that such is an infamous lie. You neither furnished means or word of encouragement, but simply said to R. R. Kelly to not be hasty about going South (April, 1861), to weigh the matter well, etc. You never knew that I had any intention of going South, nor did I write until about one hour before I did go, and then went as a recruit in Captain

Thorndike Brooks' company, and never recruited a single man for the Southern army. I write this statement because it is just. Should have written sooner, but never saw the article until now.

Yours, as ever,

HIBERT B. CUNNINGHAM.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

Another member of the same company wrote as follows :

CARBONDALE, October 16, 1866.

I, A. H. Morgan, of Carbondale, Illinois, do hereby certify that I differ with General Logan in politics; that I was in the Southern army under Captain Thorndike Brooks, of Illinois, in General Cheatham's command. Left Illinois with H. B. Cunningham (General Logan's brother-in-law) with other young men of this and Williamson counties, Illinois, who composed Brooks' company; and further, that I testify to the truth of Mr. Cunningham's statement; and further, that General Logan never furnished means nor encouragement to any of us, neither was he in Marion at the time we started from that place. This statement I make without General Logan's knowledge; do so in justice to him, and to refute the slanderous charge made against him.

A. H. MORGAN.

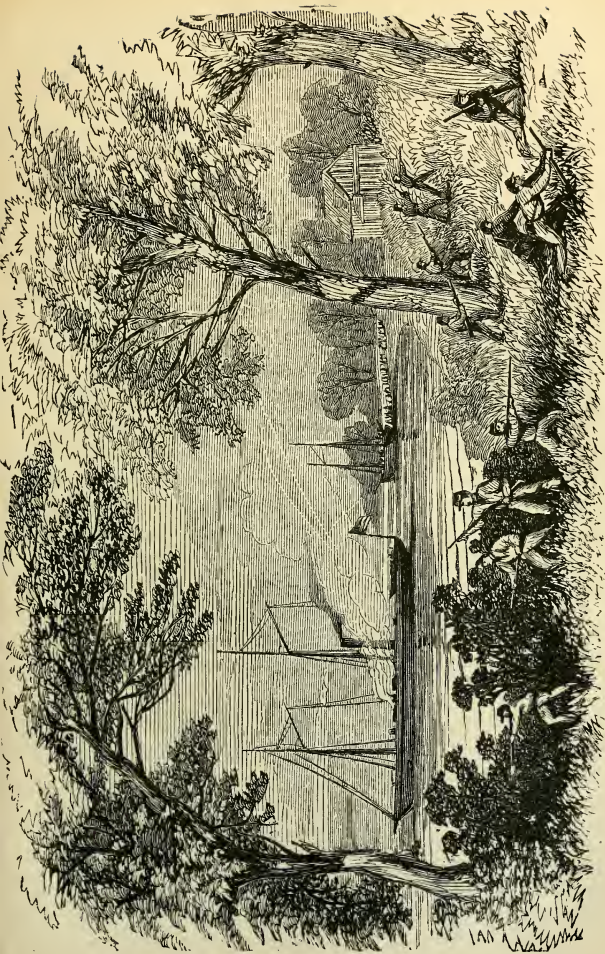
Colonel Brooks himself made a similar statement, as did numerous leading citizens of Marion, who knew personally the facts.

It is impossible to elevate the question to the plane of respectable controversy.

General H. V. Boynton, in writing upon this subject, says: "The roll of honor of the Union armies does not contain a name worthy to stand above his as the best type of the volunteer officer, through all the grades up to the commander of an army in battle. Before he was of age, he was a soldier in Mexico. He was a Democratic Congressman from the most benighted political section of Illinois when Sumter was fired

upon. He was a good-enough Republican to be a fighting officer for the Union, and a very stubborn one, too, at the battle of Bull Run. A good many who wink now as they ask with a knowing air whether Logan did not once contemplate joining the Southern Confederacy, had not themselves, at that date, adopted the doctrine of coercion. Suppose Logan did at first consider such a step? There were scores of men, whose prominence in the party is not now questioned, who were proposing peace conferences or serving on peace committees after Logan had enlisted as a Union soldier. He never turned his face toward the Confederacy—except in battle. But if he had, in the early unsettled days, Republicans, in view of his magnificent service from the hour the first rebel gun was fired, can give him full and effective defense against all questioners.”

Granting, for the sake of the argument, that the allegation is true, which in fact is precisely the opposite of the case, what has it to do with the splendid services he rendered when the nation needed leaders like him? And what has it to do with his career in civil life since the war? As well might the character of Paul, an apostle, be questioned because he was born Saul of Tarsus. As well might the glory of the “Father of his country” be dimmed, because he won his first distinction fighting valiantly for the king at Braddock’s defeat.



THE UNION FORCES LANDING AT BELMONT.

CHAPTER III.

BELMONT, FORT HENRY AND FORT DONELSON.

In camp at Cairo.—The expedition to Belmont.—Logan saves the day.—The first to enter Fort Henry.—Captures a battery from the retreating Rebels.—The terrible battles before Fort Donelson.—His regiment fights till its ammunition is gone.—Logan twice wounded.—A Brigadier-General for gallantry.—He wants to push things at Corinth.—Engaged in guarding and constructing the railroad.—Thanked in General Orders.—He declines to return home and run for Congress.

LOGAN was now fairly enlisted in the war. Upon the presentation of a flag to his regiment, he said: "Should the free navigation of the Mississippi River be obstructed by force, the men of the West will hew their way to the Gulf of Mexico." He was soon to receive his baptism of fire, for having rendezvoused his command at Cairo, then General Grant's headquarters of the District of Southeast Missouri, he had scarcely devoted six weeks to the drilling of his regiment, when they were sent with the expedition to Belmont, where it was their fortune to save the day to the Union forces.

General Fremont, in command of the Western Department, had been maneuvering against Stirling Price all summer. As in the war of William the Testy against the Connecticut "Moss Troopers," the proclamation formed a very important element in the campaign, which led to the displacement of Fremont by Hunter, through Lincoln's order which was sent not to be delivered if the General had fought, was fighting, or was about to fight a battle.

In obedience to Fremont's order shortly before his career was cut short, General Grant was preparing for a demonstration against Columbus, Ky., a strongly fortified bluff where General Polk was in command, and whence, it was reported, re-enforcements were being sent to Price. By directions from headquarters, about the same date, he sent out two small detachments under Colonels Oglesby and W. H. L. Wallace respectively, with a view to drive Jeff Thompson out of Missouri. When all was ready, Grant started the expedition down the river, under McClernand and Smith, and early in the morning of Nov. 7, learning that a large force of the rebels had crossed and camped near the village of Belmont, on the Missouri side, he decided to strike them there. The force was landed without difficulty, and Colonel Logan's regiment of McClernand's Brigade, was placed upon the left.

General Grant, in a letter to his father, described the affair as follows :

"Day before yesterday, I left Cairo with about 3,000 men, in five steamers, convoyed by two gunboats, and proceeded down the river to within about twelve miles of Columbus ; next morning the boats were dropped down just out of range of the enemy's batteries and the troops debarked. During this operation, our gunboats exercised the rebels by throwing shells into their camps and batteries. When all ready, we proceeded about one mile toward Belmont, opposite Columbus, when I formed the troops into line and ordered two companies from each regiment to deploy as skirmishers, and push on through the woods and discover the position of the enemy. They had gone but a little way when they were fired upon, and the ball may be said to have fairly opened. The whole command, with the exception of a small reserve, was then deployed in like manner and ordered forward. The order was obeyed with great alacrity, the men all showing great cour-

age. I can say with great gratification that every colonel, without a single exception, set an example to their commands that inspired a confidence that will always insure victory, where there is the slightest possibility of gaining one. I feel truly proud to command such men.

"From here we fought our way from tree to tree through the woods to Belmont, about two and a half miles, the enemy contesting every inch of the ground. Here the enemy had strengthened their position by felling the trees for two or three hundred yards and sharpening their limbs, making a sort of abatis.

"Our men charged through, making the victory complete, giving us possession of the camp and garrison, equipages, artillery, and everything else.

"We got a great many prisoners. The majority, however, succeeded in getting aboard their steamers and pushing across the river. We burned everything possible and started back, having accomplished all that we went for and even more. Belmont is entirely covered by the batteries from Columbus, and is worth nothing as a military position—cannot be held without Columbus.

"The object of the expedition was to prevent the enemy from sending a force into Missouri to cut off troops I had sent there for a special purpose, and to prevent re-enforcing Price. Besides being well fortified at Columbus, their number far exceeded ours, and it would have been folly to have attacked them. We found the Confederates well armed and brave."

General Grant, in this brief letter to his father, does not attempt to give the particulars of the contest. The fact was, that after the Union troops had handsomely repulsed the rebels in the face of a desperate resistance, which was gallantly overcome by these Western soldiers, then most of them for the first time under fire, there was a relapse from discipline which future

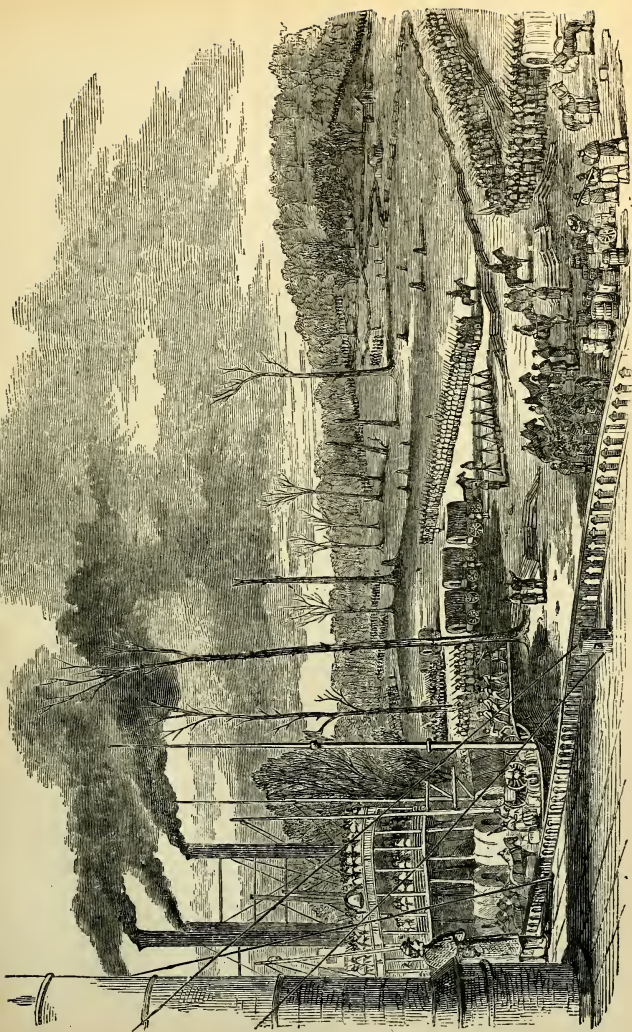
experience taught them must always be maintained when in the territory of an enemy. Elated with victory, they proceeded to indulge in a kind of celebration of their success, and abandoned themselves to the contemplation of the Confederate camp which they had succeeded in capturing, together with a large number of prisoners.

The rebels stationed at Columbus on the other side of the river were not idle, however, nor unmindful of the situation. Pushing across re-enforcements they formed between the United States troops and the bank of the river where their transports were moored, and completely surprised them when ill prepared to meet an unexpected foe.

A panic threatened to seize the troops and undo the results of their late victory. General Logan, however, was equal to the occasion, and rallying his regiment, he charged through the attacking column with the bayonet, and cleared the way for the withdrawal of the Union forces. His horse was shot under him, and the pistol at his side was shattered by a rebel bullet, but the morale of the men was once more restored, and the day was saved from disaster by Logan's coolness and bravery.

The Hon. Lewis Hanback, a Congressman from Kansas, at the Soldiers and Sailors' Serenade to General Logan, at Washington, soon after his nomination for Vice-President, made a speech, in the course of which he gave an account of Logan's participation in this battle of which he was an eye-witness. Said he :

"It was at Belmont that I first saw John A. Logan. There were five regiments of us there, among them the 27th Illinois Infantry, to which I belonged, and the 31st Illinois, Logan's regiment. I remember the 27th, my regiment, held the right of the line of battle. I was orderly-sergeant, and accordingly was on the left of my regiment. On our immediate left, and joining it, was the 31st. Logan sat on his big, black



LANDING TROOPS FOR THE FORT HENRY EXPEDITION.

horse, therefore, nearly in front of me. Our colonel, a brave and gallant man, too, he was, rode up to Logan, and said, rather pompously : 'Colonel Logan, remember, if you please, that I have the position of honor.' Without turning to right or left, Logan instantly replied : 'I don't care a d—n where I am, so long as I get into this fight.' And 'get into' it he soon did, as he fought his way up to and into the camp and tore down the ensign of treason and planted in its stead the flag of beauty and of glory."

The official report gave Colonel Logan the credit for his splendid services and matchless bravery upon this occasion. It says : "Colonel Logan's admirable tactics not only foiled the frequent attempts of the enemy to flank him, but secured a steady advance toward the enemy's camp."

Colonel Pearson, then a subordinate of Logan's regiment, gives an account of the affair at Belmont, in the course of which he says : "Nearly every regiment then had a brass band, and they were playing 'Hail Columbia' and 'Yankee Doodle,' and McClernand made a speech and we were having a glorious time. All this time the rebels were bringing troops across the river between us and our transports. I remember when Logan saw the position we were in, and McClernand saw it, and the latter didn't know what to do, and made the remark : 'I don't know what we are going to do.'

"Logan said : 'You give me permission and I will show you what I will do.'

"McClernand said : 'All right, you go ahead.'

"Logan ordered his regiment to fall in, and we made a charge and cut our way through the enemy and got back to our transports. Logan had his horse killed under him and was one of the last to get on the boat. All this I saw ; I had a musket in my hand and helped make the charge, and was one of those who did not get injured in the fight, but

many were killed, of course. Logan had every chance in the world, if he had been a disloyal man at that time, being the first engagement, to have surrendered to the enemy."

The United States forces lost some 485 in killed, wounded and missing, and General Grant placed the rebel casualties at 600, which General Polk's report shows were actually 41 greater. The rebels believing that the demonstration had been intended as a serious attempt to capture Columbus regarded the affair as a great victory. Jefferson Davis sent his congratulations; General Albert Sidney Johnston said it would be a bright page in the annals of the war; the Confederate Congress thanked Polk; and the whilom bishop naturally thanked the "overruling Providence."

This was General Grant's first battle in the rebellion, and in the long line of engagements which followed from that day until the fall of Vicksburg, he steadily showed his growing appreciation of the gallantry and capacity of Logan. Whenever he had a difficult task to perform he always preferred to consign it to his charge, knowing that he would do the best that intelligence and bravery could accomplish toward the desired end.

There were two ideas which possessed the loyal people of the Northern States in the early days of the war. One was the capture of Richmond, and the other the opening of the Mississippi River to free navigation. It was the gallantry of the western army under General Grant and his splendid corps commanders that accomplished the latter object. A campaign was organized with this end in view, and the army began with a series of uninterrupted victories under their leaders who have since become famous for their military achievements.

The first thing to be done was to dislodge the rebels from two strongholds which they had made, at points where the

Cumberland and Tennessee rivers very nearly approached each other, Forts Henry and Donelson.

In the campaign which resulted so brilliantly, Colonel Logan bore a prominent part. He was with the force which Grant sent up the Cumberland River to strike Fort Henry. His regiment did trying service on the expedition, and Logan was the first to enter the abandoned fort. In command of a detachment of cavalry he pursued the retreating Confederates, and captured a battery of eight guns.

In the midst of stormy winter weather the Union troops were moved across the country to invest Fort Donelson. This work was much stronger than the other, and was vigorously defended by the Confederates. The siege occupied three days, during which time the soldiers endured the severest hardships from hunger, snow, and sleet, and the difficulties attending operations in a rough country covered with mud on which a thin crust was frozen.

In the fighting before Donelson, Colonel Logan's regiment was severely handled, losing fifty per cent. of its effective force. On the afternoon of the third day they bore unflinchingly for hours the withering fire of the enemy, and resisted his attack until their cartridge-boxes were empty and they had not another shot to deliver. The lieutenant-colonel and senior captain were killed, and Colonel Logan himself was severely wounded in the left arm and shoulder, and in the thigh. He persisted in remaining at his post, however, encouraging the men and holding them up to their work, in spite of the most desperate assaults upon his front and flank. After the battle it was found that his wounds were so severe as to seriously endanger his life for several weeks.

General McClernand, commanding the first division, pays a just tribute to Colonel Logan's services in the battles around the fortress in the following terms :

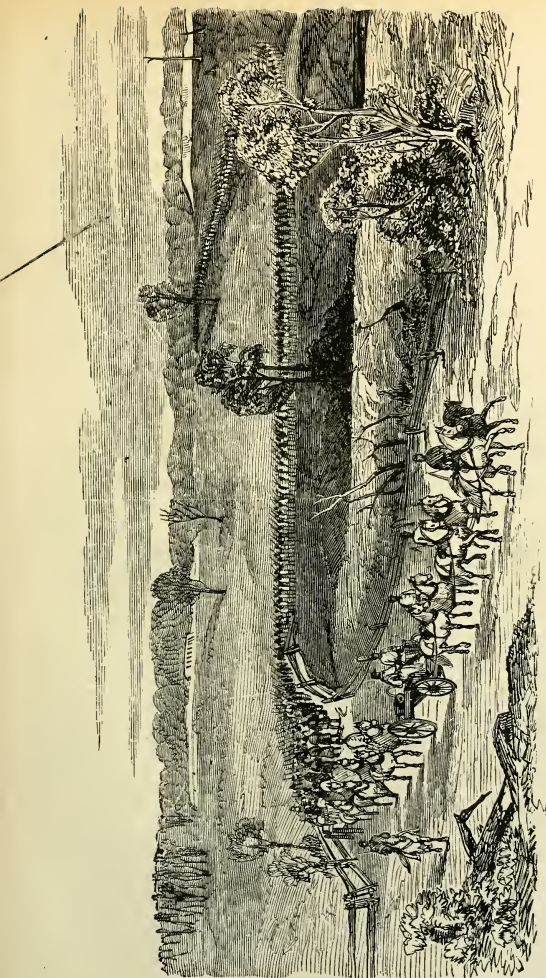
Schwartz's battery being left unsupported by the retirement of the 29th, the 31st boldly rushed to its defense, and at the same moment received the combined attack of the forces on the right and of others in front, supposed to have been led by General Buckner. The danger was imminent, and calling for a change of disposition adapted to meet it, Colonel Logan made it by forming the right wing of his battalion at an angle with the left. In this order he supported the battery which continued to play upon the enemy, and held him in check until his regiment's supply of ammunition was entirely exhausted.

In his official report of the campaign, published in Vol. VII *Rebellion Records*, Colonel Oglesby says :

Turning to the 31st, which held its place in line, I ordered Colonel Logan to throw back his right, so as to form a crotchet on the right of the 11th Illinois. In this way Colonel Logan held in check the advancing foe for some time, under the most destructive fire, whilst I endeavored to assist Colonel Cruft with his brigade in finding a position on the right of the 31st. It was now four hours since fighting began in the morning. The cartridge-boxes of the 31st were nearly empty. The Colonel had been severely wounded, and the Lieutenant-Colonel John H. White had, with some thirty others, fallen dead on the field, and a large number wounded. In this condition Colonel Logan brought off the remainder of his regiment in good order.

The fall of Fort Donelson was the first important Union triumph, and the country was electrified by it. Generals Grant and McClernand, Oglesby and Logan, and the other commanders of the campaign were the heroes of the day. An exultant poet at the time thus sang the glories of Illinois, which appeared in the *Boston Advertiser* :

“Oh ! gales that dash th’ Atlantic’s swell
Along our rocky shore,
Whose thunders diapason well
New England’s glad hurrahs—



MARCHING ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO FORT DONELSON.

Bear to the prairies of the West
 The echoes of our joy,
 The prayer that springs in every breast,
 'God bless thee, Illinois!'

Oh awful hours, when grape and shell
 Tore through the unflinching line;
 'Stand firm, remove the men who fell,
 Close up, and await the sign.'

It came at last; 'Now, lads, the steel!'
 The rushing hosts deploy;
 'Charge, boys!'—the broken traitors reel—
 Huzzah for Illinois!

In vain thy rampart, Donelson,
 The living torrent jars;
 It leaps the wall, the Fort is won,
 Up go the Stripes and Stars.

Thy proudest mother's eyelids fill,
 As dares her gallant boy,
 And Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill,
 Shout, 'Bless thee, Illinois!'"

These lines were generally copied by the Northern press.

Colonel Logan was one of four officers whom Major-General Grant, in his letter to the Secretary of War, especially recommended for promotion for services at Fort Donelson. The General says :

I take this occasion to make some recommendations of officers who, in my opinion, should not be neglected. I would particularly mention the names of Colonel J. D. Webster, 1st Illinois Artillery; Morgan L. Smith, 8th Missouri Volunteers; W. H. L. Wallace, 11th Illinois Volunteers; and John A. Logan, 31st Illinois Volunteers. The two former are old soldiers, and men of decided merit; the two latter are from civil pursuits, but I

have no hesitation in fully endorsing them as in every way qualified for the position of brigadier-general, and think they have fully earned the position on the field of battle.

Logan was accordingly promoted for gallantry at Fort Donelson to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He was confined for some time to his bed by the injuries received in the campaign, but was so anxious to return to the army that before his wounds were healed, and while unable yet to wear a coat, he started for the front. To his great disappointment he was only able to reach his command on the evening of the second day at Shiloh, and hence did not participate in that engagement.

He was given command of the First Brigade, Third Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps, and in this capacity moved out against Corinth. His impatience naturally prompted him to push things against the enemy, and he was in favor of capturing the place, instead of giving the rebels time to evacuate it, as eventually transpired. After the rebels fell back from this place, General Logan was occupied in guarding the railroad leading to Jackson, and in rebuilding it between the latter place and Columbus.

General Sherman acknowledged the signal services of General Logan at this time in his official report of the siege of Corinth, in which he says :

General John A. Logan's brigade, General Judah's division of McClelland's reserve corps, and General Veatch's brigade, of Hurlbut's division, were placed subject to my orders, and took an important part with my own division in the operations of the two following days, viz. May 28 and May 29, 1862; and I now thank the officers and men of those brigades for the zeal and enthusiasm they manifested and the alacrity they displayed in the execution of every order given. And further, I feel

under special obligations to this officer, General Logan, who, during the two days he served under me, held critical ground on my right, extending down to the railroad. All that time he had in his front a large force of the enemy, but so dense was the foliage that he could not reckon their strength save from what he could see in the railroad track.

In the meantime the devoted Army of the Potomac, under its various commanders, suffered a succession of misfortunes, the war dragged, and there was much dissatisfaction throughout the North. The Union cause began to look dark. The active rebel sympathy in the North, under the lead of Vallandigham and others, was discouraging to the people. Many of General Logan's friends urged him to resign from the army and run for Congress in his old district. There was no such thing as a backward step with him, and he spurned even the appearance of a withdrawal from the active responsibility of his share in the crisis. He addressed a letter, therefore, from Jackson, Tenn., to the Hon. O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State of Illinois, August 26, in which he said :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your complimentary letter of the 18th inst., asking permission to use my name in connection with that of Representative for the Fourteenth District of the State of Illinois.

In reply I would most respectfully remind you that a compliance with your request on my part would be a departure from the settled resolution with which I resumed my sword in defense and for the perpetuity of a Government, the like and blessings of which no other nation or age shall enjoy if once suffered to be weakened or destroyed.

In making this reply, I feel that it is unnecessary to enlarge as to what were, are, or may hereafter be my political views, but would simply state that politics of every grade and character

whatsoever are now ignored by me, since I am convinced that the Constitution and life of this Republic, which I shall never cease to adore, are in danger.

I express all my views and politics when I assert my attachment for the Union. I have no other politics now, and consequently no aspirations for civil place and power.

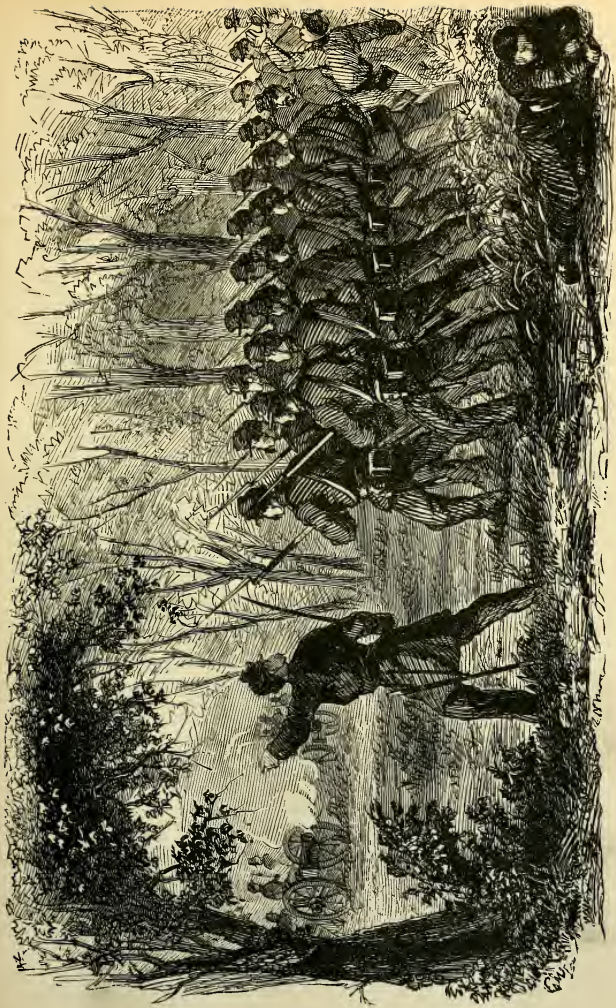
No! I am to-day a soldier of this Republic, so to remain, changeless and immutable, until her last and weakest enemy shall have expired and passed away.

Ambitious men, who have not a true love for their country at heart, may bring forth crude and bootless questions to agitate the pulse of our troubled nation, and thwart the preservation of this Union; but for none of such am I. I have entered the field, to die if need be, for this Government, and never expect to return to peaceful pursuits until the object of this war of preservation has become a fact established.

Whatever means it may be necessary to adopt, whatever local interest it may affect or destroy, is no longer an affair of mine. If any locality or section suffers or is wronged in the prosecution of the war, I am sorry for it; but I say that it must not be heeded now, for we are at war for the preservation of the Union. Let the evil be rectified when the present breach has been cemented forever.

If the South by her malignant treachery has imperiled all that made her great and wealthy, and it was to be lost, I would not stretch forth my hand to save her from destruction, if she will not be saved by a restoration of the Union. Since the die of her wretchedness has been cast by her own hands, let the coin of her misery circulate alone in her own dominions, until the peace of union ameliorates her forlorn condition.

By these few words you may readily discern that my political aspirations are things of the past, and I am not the character of man you seek. No legislation in which I might be suffered to take a feeble part will, in my opinion, suffice to amend the injury already inflicted upon our country by these remorseless traitors. Their policy for the dissolution of the Government was initiated in blood, and their seditious blood only can suffice to make



LOGAN'S REGIMENT AT FORT DONELSON.

amends for the evil done. This Government must be preserved for future generations in the same mold in which it was transmitted to us, if it takes the last man and the last dollar of the present generation within its borders to accomplish it.

For the flattering manner in which you have seen fit to allude to my past services, I return you my sincere thanks; but if it has been my fortune to bleed and suffer for my dear country, it is all but too little compared to what I am willing again and again to endure; and should fate so ordain it, I will esteem it as the highest privilege a Just Dispenser can award, to shed the last drop of blood in my veins for the honor of that flag whose emblems are justice, liberty, and truth, and which has been, and as I humbly trust in God ever will be, for the right.

In conclusion, let me request that your desire to associate my name with the high and honorable position you would confer upon me be at once dismissed, and some more suitable and worthy person substituted. Meanwhile I shall continue to look with unfeigned pride and admiration on the continuance of the present able conduct of our State affairs, and feel that I am sufficiently honored while acknowledged as an humble soldier of our own peerless State.

The unmistakable tone of this letter shows how he stood upon the political questions of the day, and his unqualified determination to put everything else in the background till the Union was first saved.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

Logan made a Major-General of Volunteers.—Takes the advance in the Northern Mississippi Campaign.—Develops capacity for effective organization.—Placed at the head of the Third Division of McPherson's Corps.—Dispatched to Lake Providence.—The forced march down the river to Hard Times.—Crosses the river and moves on to Port Gibson.—On to Jackson.—Logan's own battle at Raymond.—Jackson captured.—The battle of Champion Hills won by Logan.—What the Comte de Paris says about his tactics there.—Pemberton withdraws behind the ramparts of Vicksburg.—The siege.—Logan's soldiers blow up the redoubt and charge the breach.—Given the honor of the advance in entering the captured city.—Made Military Governor.—Asked by President Lincoln to come North and address the people.

THE rebels were still defiant in the West, notwithstanding their repulse at Pittsburgh Landing, following the loss of their strongholds in Tennessee, because the blockade of the Mississippi River was maintained by the swamp-environed fortress of Vicksburg, which had been seized and fortified early in the war. It was the ambition of the Western army, under Grant, to compel its surrender, and the rebels bent every energy to hold it. For a year the hostile forces were maneuvering about this as the objective point. A vigorous campaign was planned in the fall of 1862 by the Union commander, which had in view its ultimate investment, but the project failed through the shameful cowardice of a subordinate officer, whose action caused the destruction of the vast supplies gathered for the support of the army.

In all the wearisome marches and sharp fighting through Northern Mississippi, Logan's command led the advance. His

troops composed the First Division of the Seventeenth Corps, and his great capacity for organization resulted in making it the most reliable in the army for efficient service and toilsome duty, in marching and fighting. This splendid body of men soon attracted the attention of General Grant, and for this reason Logan's troops were called upon to show the way on all occasions, with their restless commander at their head. When the campaign was over the men came back to Memphis, in December, tried veterans.

March 13, 1863, Logan was made a Major-General, to rank from Nov. 29, 1862. Already, in January, 1863, he had been placed in command of the Third Division of the Seventeenth (McPherson's) Corps. By this time no officer in the service had acquired greater prominence or was more trusted by the soldiers. As usual, he turned his influence to good account for the cause of the Union. Those were dark days in the winter of 1862-63, and faint hearts all over the North began to grow weary of the contest, the spirit of compromise was rife, and the disloyal press and Southern sympathizers became bolder day by day. The war was pronounced a failure, the administration was attacked, and it took a brave faith to see the dawn of a successful peace. The attitude of England was such as to give moral support to the rebellion, and the recognition of the Confederacy by the British government was discussed everywhere, as the probable sequel to each success of the enemy. (The Queen's government, by the way, still seems to be much interested in our politics.) Even our old ally, France, was against us, and Louis Napoleon was plotting with Austria to plant an empire at our very doors. Only semi-barbaric Russia, of the strong powers, was our avowed friend in these days of distress, and put to shame the ill-concealed desire of England to see the disintegration of the great Republic.

Public sentiment seemed to be running against the Republican party, which was recognized as the war party, the Democrats having made the issue one of peaceable settlement with secession by a complete surrender to the Jeff. Davis government. There was discontent also in the army, taunted in the hour of its reverses with the sneer that it was "fighting for the nigger."

Under such circumstances, General Logan, from his cot in the hospital, where illness contracted through exposure and wounds detained him, issued the following address to his troops :

MY FELLOW-SOLDIERS: Debility from recent illness has prevented and still prevents me from appearing amongst you, as has been my custom, and is my desire. It is for this cause I deem it my duty to communicate with you now, and give you the assurance that your general still maintains unshaken confidence in your patriotism, devotion, and in the ultimate success of our glorious cause.

I am aware that influences of the most discouraging and treasonable character, well calculated and designed to render you dissatisfied, have recently been brought to bear upon some of you by professed friends. Newspapers, containing treasonable articles, artfully falsifying the public sentiment at your homes, have been circulated in your camps. Intriguing political tricksters, demagogues, and time-servers, whose corrupt deeds are but a faint reflex of their more corrupt hearts, seem determined to drive our people on to anarchy and destruction. They have hoped, by magnifying the reverses of our arms, basely misrepresenting the conduct, and slandering the character of our soldiers in the field, and boldly denouncing the acts of the constituted authorities of the Government as unconstitutional usurpations, to produce general demoralization in the army, and thereby reap their political reward, weaken the cause we have espoused, and aid those arch-traitors of the South to dismember our mighty Republic, and trail in the dust the emblem of our national unity,



GROUP OF REBEL PRISONERS CAPTURED AT FORT DONELSON.



greatness, and glory. Let me remind you, my countrymen, that we are Soldiers of the Federal Union, armed for the preservation of the Federal Constitution and the maintenance of its laws and authority. Upon your faithfulness and devotion, heroism and gallantry, depends its perpetuity. To us has been committed this sacred inheritance, baptized in the blood of our fathers. We are soldiers of a Government that has always blessed us with prosperity and happiness.

It has given to every American citizen the largest freedom and the most perfect equality of rights and privileges. It has afforded us security in person and property, and blessed us until, under its beneficent influence, we were the proudest nation on earth.

We should be united in our efforts to put down a rebellion that now, like an earthquake, rocks the nation from State to State, and from center to circumference, and threatens to engulf us all in one common ruin, the horrors of which no pen can portray. We have solemnly sworn to bear true faith to this Government, preserve its Constitution, and defend its glorious flag against all its enemies and opposers. To our hands has been committed the liberties, the prosperity and happiness of future generations. Shall we betray such a trust? Shall the brilliancy of your past achievements be dimmed and tarnished by hesitation, discord, and dissension, whilst armed traitors menace you in front and unarmed traitors intrigue against you in the rear? We are in no way responsible for any action of the civil authorities. We constitute the military arm of the Government. That the civil power is threatened and attempted to be paralyzed is the reason for resort to the military power. To aid the civil authorities (not to oppose or obstruct) in the exercise of their authority, is our office; and shall we forget this duty, and stop to wrangle and dispute over this or that political act or measure while the country is bleeding at every pore; while a fearful wail of anguish, wrung from the heart of a distracted people, is borne upon every breeze, and widows and orphans are appealing to us to avenge the loss of their loved ones who have fallen by our side in defense of the old blood-stained banner, and

while the Temple of Liberty itself is being shaken to its very center by the ruthless blows of traitors, who have desecrated our flag, obstructed our national highways, destroyed our peace, desolated our firesides, and draped thousands of homes in mourning?

Let us stand firm at our posts of duty and of honor, yielding a cheerful obedience to all orders from our superiors, until by our united efforts the Stars and Stripes shall be planted in every city, town, and hamlet of the rebellious States. We can then return to our homes, and through the ballot-box peacefully redress all our wrongs, if any we have.

While I rely upon you with confidence and pride, I blush to confess that recently some of those who were once our comrades in arms have so far forgotten their honor, their oaths, and their country as to shamefully desert us, and skulkingly make their way to their homes, where like culprits they dare not look an honest man in the face. Disgrace and ignominy (if they escape the penalty of the law) will not only follow them to their dishonored graves, but will stamp their names and lineage with infamy to the latest generation. The scorn and contempt of every true man will ever follow those base men, who, forgetful of their oaths, have, like cowardly spaniels, deserted their comrades in arms in the face of the foe, and their country in the hour of its greatest peril. Every true-hearted mother or father, brother, sister, or wife, will spurn the coward who could thus not only disgrace himself, but his name and his kindred. An indelible stamp of infamy should be branded upon his cheek, that all who look upon his vile countenance may feel for him the contempt his cowardice merits. Could I believe that such conduct found either justification or excuse in your hearts, or that you would for a moment falter in our glorious purpose of saving the nation from threatened wreck and hopeless ruin, I would invoke from Deity, as the greatest boon, a common grave to save us from such infamy and disgrace.

The day is not far distant when traitors and cowards North and South will cower before the indignation of an outraged people. March bravely onward! Nerve your strong arms to the

task of overthrowing every obstacle in the pathway of victory, until with shouts of triumph the last gun is fired that proclaims us a United People under the old flag and one Government! Patriot soldiers! This great work accomplished, the reward for such service as yours will be realized; the blessings and honors of a grateful people will be yours.

JOHN A. LOGAN,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

No one can, at this late day, read the fervid words of this address without being stirred by the patriotism and lofty motives it embodies. The spirit of a patriot soldier burns throughout its impatient periods, and its effect upon those war-worn veterans was electrical. It brought back the old spirit that conquered at Donelson and Shiloh, and the hearts of the soldiers leaped anew at the voice of their beloved leader.

Stirring work was ahead, however. Logan's command was dispatched to Lake Providence to dig the canal by which the Union forces hoped to pass the frowning Cerberus that guarded still the highway to the Gulf. When this project was abandoned, Logan led the way again on that weary march, without a day of rest to give time to the rebels to concentrate their forces, to meet the new danger which menaced them. From Milliken's Bend to Carthage and Perkins' Plantation, and on to Hard Times they hurried, till they found the transports, which, manned by volunteers from Logan's division, had run past the guns of Vicksburg in the night, and were waiting to take them across to the eastern bank.

Logan's division was ferried across on May 1, and without stopping to rest, tramped on toward Port Gibson, where McClernand was vainly trying to beat back the rebels from their strong position.

General Grant, in his official report of this action, says :

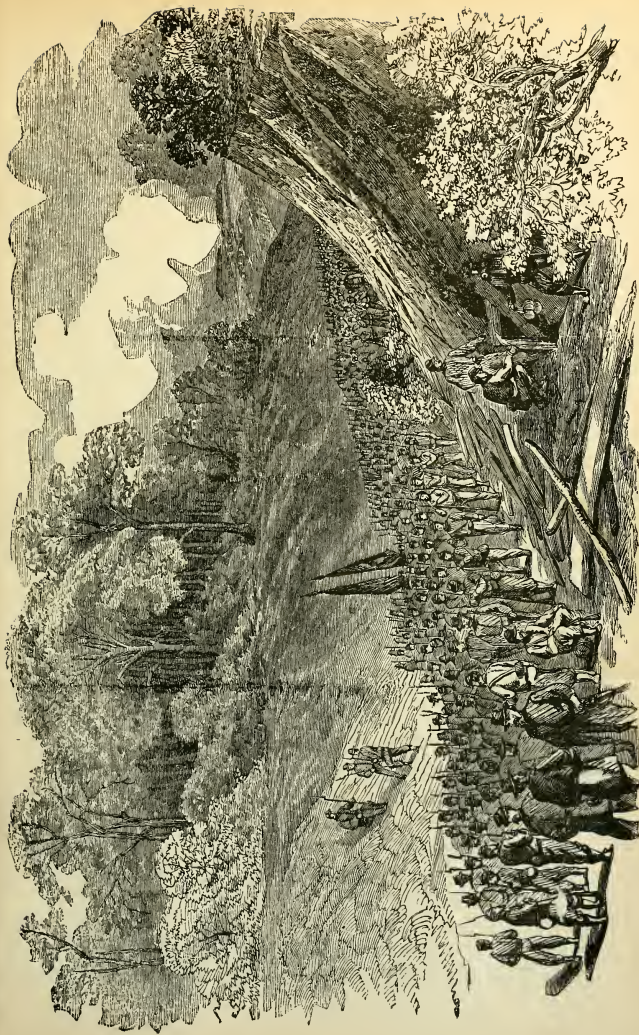
McClermand, who was with the right in person, sent repeated messages to me before the arrival of Logan to send Logan's and Quimby's divisions to him. Osterhaus, of McClermand's corps, did not move the enemy from the position occupied by him on our left until Logan's division of McPherson's corps arrived. However, as soon as the advance of McPherson's corps, Logan's division, arrived, I sent one brigade of the division to the left. By the judicious disposition made of this brigade, under the immediate supervision of McPherson and Logan, a position was obtained giving us an advantage which drove the enemy from that part of the field to make no further stand south of Bayou Pierre, and the enemy was here repulsed with a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. He was pursued toward Port Gibson; but night closing in, and the enemy making the appearance of another stand, the troops slept upon their arms until daylight. Major Stolbrand, with a section of one of General Logan's batteries, had the pleasure of firing the last shot at the retreating enemy across the bridge on the north fork of Bayou Pierre, just at dusk on that day.

General Pemberton began to be very much concerned, and foresaw that he was liable at last to be checkmated. He telegraphed to General Joseph E. Johnston that night, that the Union forces could all cross from Hard Times to Bruinsburg, and that he needed heavy re-enforcements. He announced that the movement threatened Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, and if it was successful, Vicksburg and Port Hudson would be cut off.

Port Gibson was abandoned during the night by the rebels, who retreated across Bayou Pierre, burning the bridges in front of the United States forces.

General Adam Badeau says :

Grant immediately detached one brigade of Logan's division to the left, to engage the attention of the rebels there, while a heavy detail of McClermand's troops were set to work rebuilding



LOGAN'S DIVISION READY TO ADVANCE TO PORT GIBSON.



the bridge across the South Fork. . . . While this was doing, two brigades of Logan's division forded the bayou and marched on. . . . Meanwhile another division (Crocker's) of McPherson's corps had been ferried across the Mississippi and . . . had come up with the command. . . . Grant now ordered McPherson to push across the bayou and attack the enemy in flank, in full retreat through Willow Springs, demoralized and out of ammunition. McPherson started at once, and before night his two divisions had crossed the South Fork and marched to the North Fork, eight miles farther on. They found the bridge at Grindstone Ford still burning, but the fire was extinguished and the bridge repaired in the night, the troops passing over as soon as the last plank was laid. This was at 5 A. M. on the 3d. Before one brigade had finished crossing, the enemy opened on the head of the column with artillery; but the command was at once deployed, and the rebels soon fell back, their movement being intended only to cover the retreating force. McPherson followed rapidly, driving them through Willow Springs, and gaining the cross-roads. Here Logan was directed to take the Grand Gulf road, while Crocker continued the direct pursuit. Skirmishing was kept up all day; the broken country, the narrow, tortuous roads and impassable ravines, offering great facilities for this species of warfare. The enemy availed himself fully of every advantage, contesting the ground with great tenacity. This continued all the way to Hankinson's Ferry, on the Big Black River, fifteen miles from Port Gibson. Several hundred prisoners were taken in the pursuit. At four o'clock in the afternoon McPherson came up with the rebels, and Logan at the same time appearing on their right flank, caused them to move precipitously toward the river. McPherson followed hard, and arrived just as the last of the rebels were crossing, and in time to prevent the destruction of the bridge. It being now dark, and the enemy driven across the Big Black, the command was rested for the night.

Again it was found that the rebels had made good use of the darkness and abandoned Grand Gulf, after blowing up the

magazines and spiking the cannon, leaving thirteen heavy guns to fall into the hands of the victors. On this day, the 3rd of May, General Grant telegraphed to General Sherman, who had been left above at Milliken's Bend, that Logan was on the main road to Jackson, and McPherson, followed closely by McClernand, was *en route* on a branch of the same road, leading from Willow Springs, informing him triumphantly that the way to Vicksburg was now open.

On the 12th General Logan had a battle (described by General Grant as "one of the hardest small battles of the war") all to himself. His division was alone engaged, and came up with two brigades of the enemy, strongly posted in a piece of timber about three miles from the town of Raymond. The rebels fell back, after some sharp fighting, to Fainden's Creek, where they made a desperate stand and bravely met the charging troops, with Logan at their head. The banks of the creek furnished them a natural breastwork, and their fire swept an open field in front. Logan led his division on with a rush, and the rebels gave way and fled in the wildest confusion, throwing away their arms in their flight; but they did not abandon the contest till they had inflicted a loss upon the attacking column amounting to 69 killed, 341 wounded, and 32 missing.

In leading the charge Logan's horse was killed by a bursting shell.

Two days later Logan was with McPherson at the capture of Jackson, where Pemberton's fears were fully realized in the defeat of "Joe" Johnston's army, which lost all its artillery, and 845 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Stars and Stripes were flung out to the breeze where they had not been seen for two years, and the victorious troops moved on in their work of closing around Vicksburg.

Johnston having been whipped, the Federal leader now

turned his attention to Pemberton. In pursuance of this plan, on the 16th was fought the battle of Champion Hills, and that eminent authority, the Comte de Paris, in his "History of the Civil War in America," characterizes it as the most important in its results of any conflict up to that time, between the forces of the United States and the insurgents. He furthermore gives General Logan the credit of securing the victory.

Pemberton occupied a strong position upon an eminence covered by dense woods, but he was growing desperate as the coil was steadily tightening about him, and aware of the advance of several divisions of the Union Army to attack him, he decided not to await the onslaught in full force, but to himself assumes the offensive. He massed his columns, therefore, and fell heavily upon Hovey's division.

The high timbered ridge called Champion Hills was crossed by a road which ran south towards Edwards Station, rising some seventy feet above the adjacent country. Its top was bare, and here the rebel artillery was planted. The wooded sides of the ridge were cut by deep ravines, opening on the north into cultivated fields on a slope toward Baker's Creek, about a mile away. The position, on a larger scale, was not unlike King's Mountain, where the Virginians and "Over-Mountain Men" annihilated Ferguson in 1780.

The entire rebel line extended southward along the crest for about four miles, covering the Middle, or Raymond road, while the right was on the southern road, with the left resting on Champion Hills, which was the key to the position.

In his description of this battle, Badeau says :

Continuous firing had been kept up all the morning between Hovey's skirmishers and the rebel advance ; and by eleven o'clock this grew into a battle. At this time Hovey's division was deployed to move westward, against the hill, the two brigades of

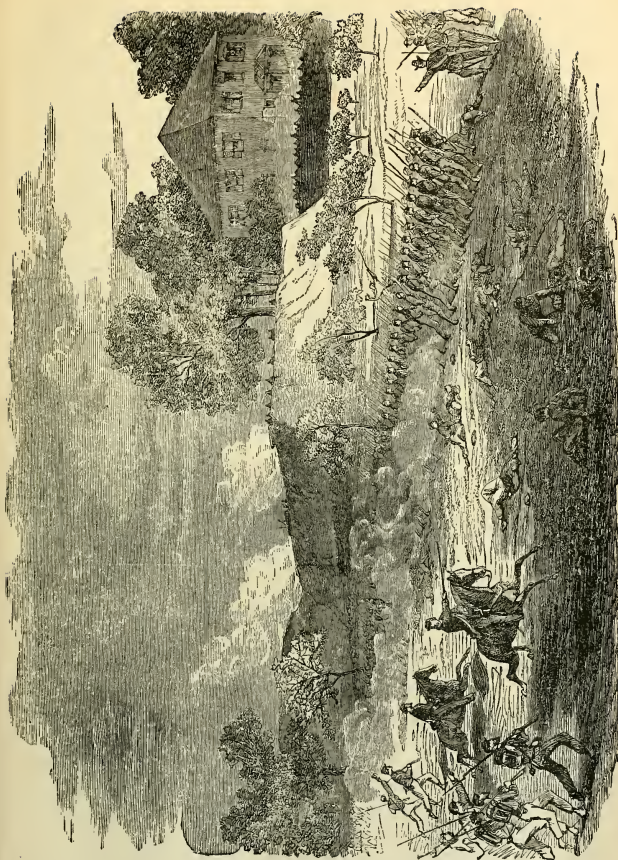
Logan supporting him. Logan was formed in the open field, facing the northern side of the ridge, and only about four hundred yards from the enemy; Logan's front and the main front of Hovey's division being nearly at right angles with each other. As Hovey advanced, his line conformed to the shape of the hill, and became crescent-like, the concave toward the hill. McPherson now posted two batteries on his extreme right, and well in advance; these poured a destructive enfilading fire upon the enemy, under cover of which the National line began to mount the hill. The enemy at once replied with a murderous discharge of musketry; and the battle soon raged hotly all along the line, from Hovey's extreme left to the right of Logan; but Hovey pushed steadily on, and drove the rebels back six hundred yards, till eleven guns and three hundred prisoners were captured, and the brow of the height was gained. The road here formed a natural fortification, which the rebels made haste to use. It was cut through the crest of the ridge at the steepest part, the bank on the upper side commanding all below; so that even where the National troops had apparently gained the road, the rebels stood behind this novel breastwork covered from every fire, and masters still of the whole declivity. These were the only fortifications at Champion Hills, but they answered the rebels well.

* * * * *

For a while, Hovey bore the whole brunt of the battle, and after a desperate resistance was compelled to fall back, though slowly and stubbornly, losing several of the guns he had taken an hour before. But Grant . . . sent in a brigade of Crocker's division, which had just arrived. Those fresh troops gave Hovey confidence, and the height, that had been gained with fearful loss, was still retained.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, the rebels had made a desperate attempt on their left to capture the battery in McPherson's corps which was doing them so much damage; they were, however, promptly repelled by Smith's brigade of Logan's division, which drove them back with great slaughter, capturing many prisoners. Discovering now that his own left was nearly turned, the enemy made a



THE GRAND ASSAULT AT VICKSBURG.



determined effort to turn the left of Hovey, precipitating on that commander all his available force; and, while Logan was carrying everything before him, the closely-pressed and nearly exhausted troops of Hovey were again compelled to retire. They had been fighting nearly three hours, and were fatigued and out of ammunition; but fell back doggedly and not far. The tide of battle at this point seemed turning against the National forces, and Hovey sent back repeatedly for support. Grant, however, was momentarily expecting the advance of McClellan's four divisions, and never doubted the result. . . . That commander, however, did not arrive; and Grant, seeing the critical condition of affairs, now directed McPherson to move what troops he could, by a left flank, around to the enemy's right front, on the crest of the ridge. The prolongation of Logan to the right had left a gap between him and Hovey, and into this the two remaining brigades of Crocker were thrown. The movement was promptly executed. Boomer's brigade went at once into the right, pouring a well-directed fire, and the victorious troops of Hovey and Crocker pressing on, the enemy once more gave way; the rebel line was rolled back for the third time, and the battle decided.

Before the result of the final charge was known, Logan rode eagerly up to Grant, declaring that if one more dash could be made in front, he would advance in the rear, and complete the capture of the rebel army. Grant at once rode forward in person, and found the troops that had been so gallantly engaged for hours withdrawn from their most advanced position, and refilling their cartridge-boxes. Explaining the position of Logan's force, he directed them to use all dispatch, and push forward as rapidly as possible. He proceeded himself in haste to what had been Pemberton's line, expecting every moment to come up with the enemy, but found the rebels had already broken and fled from the field. Logan's attack had precipitated the rout, and the battle of Champion Hills was won.

If Logan's plan had been carried out promptly and the movement made at the instant, there seems to be every reason

to believe that Pemberton's whole army could have been annihilated then and there.

In discussing the comparative results of this contest the Comte de Paris uses the following language :

The battle of Champion Hills, considering the number of troops engaged, could not compare with the great conflicts we have already mentioned, but it produced results far more important than most of those great hecatombs, like Shiloh, Fair Oaks, Murfreesborough, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, which left the two adversaries fronting each other, both unable to resume the fight. It was the most complete defeat the Confederates had sustained since the commencement of the war. They left on the field of battle from three to four thousand killed and wounded, three thousand able-bodied prisoners, and thirty pieces of artillery. But these figures can convey no idea of the magnitude of the check experienced by Pemberton, from which he could not again recover. . . . This battle was the crowning work of the operations conducted by Grant with equal audacity and skill since his landing at Bruinsburg. In outflanking Pemberton's left along the slopes of Champion Hills he had completely cut off the latter from all retreat north. Notwithstanding the very excusable error he had committed in stopping Logan's movement for a short time, the latter had through this maneuver secured victory to the Federal army.

Like a fox driven to earth before hounds he could not evade, Pemberton sought safety, with his shattered army, within the ramparts of Vicksburg. His forces amounted to about thirty-three thousand men, while the United States troops had been depleted, by whipping two armies and hard marching, to less than forty thousand. On the 19th the place was completely surrounded, from the Yazoo to the Mississippi. McClernand occupied the left, Sherman the right, and McPherson the center of the victorious army of investment.

The works consisted of a succession of detached forts on

commanding positions, connected by rifle pits. The entire line extended for seven or eight miles, and in its front was a wilderness of deep ravines and gullies, covered with tangled undergrowth and heavy timber. To make the approach more formidable trees had been felled, forming an impenetrable abatis. On the river front there were heavy water batteries in position. The irregular works were only from seventy-five to three hundred yards apart, and had been placed at the most commanding points for defense. It was, in fact, impregnable to any enemy but starvation, as it stood the day the Union forces closed in around it.

In spite of the strength of the ramparts which Pemberton's forces manned, General Grant decided upon a simultaneous assault at once, and at 2 o'clock that afternoon the attacking army rushed against their foe. It was a vain effort, however, so far as the immediate capture of the place was concerned, but the Federal troops were enabled to seize advanced positions, near the enemy's fortifications, which were held, and when the assault failed they settled down very much closer to the redoubts than they were when they started. General Grant lost some five hundred men in the effort, but he was convinced that the situation demanded another trial, and on the 22d a second general assault along the entire front, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, in conjunction with a bombardment by Porter's fleet in front, and all the land batteries, was ordered.

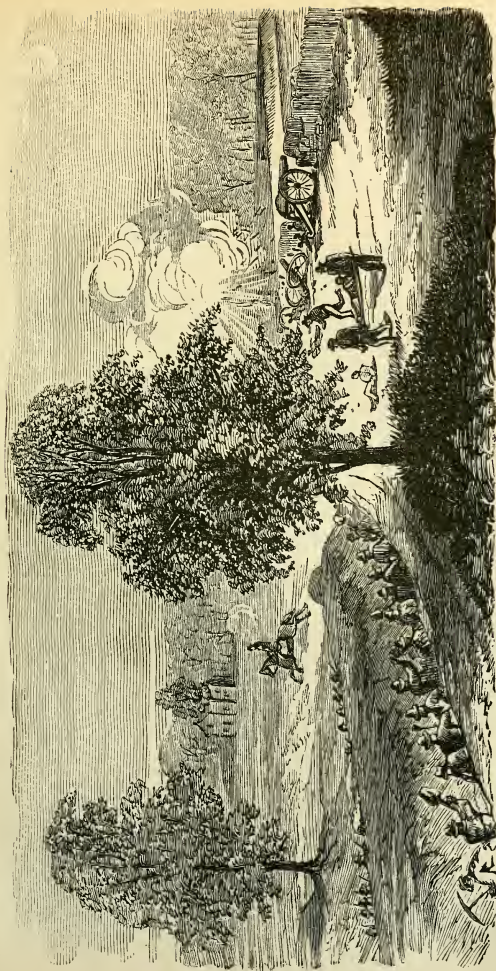
"At three o'clock on the morning of the 22d," says Badeau, "the cannonade began from the land side; every available gun was brought to bear on the works; sharp-shooters at the same time began their part of the action, and nothing could be heard but the continued shrieking of shells, the heavy booming of cannon, and the sharp whiz of the minie-balls, as they sped with fatal accuracy towards the devoted town. Vicksburg was encircled by a girdle of fire; on river and shore a line

of mighty cannon poured destruction from their fiery throats, while the mortars played incessantly, and made the heavens themselves seem to drop down malignant meteors on the rebellious stronghold. The bombardment was the most terrible during the siege, and continued without intermission until nearly eleven o'clock, while the sharp-shooters kept up such a rapid and galling fire that the rebel cannoneers could seldom rise to load their pieces; the enemy was thus able to make only ineffectual replies, and the formation of the columns of attack was undisturbed. * * * This assault was, in some respects, unparalleled in the wars of modern times. No attack on fortifications of such strength had ever been undertaken by the great European captains unless the assaulting party outnumbered the defenders by at least three to one."

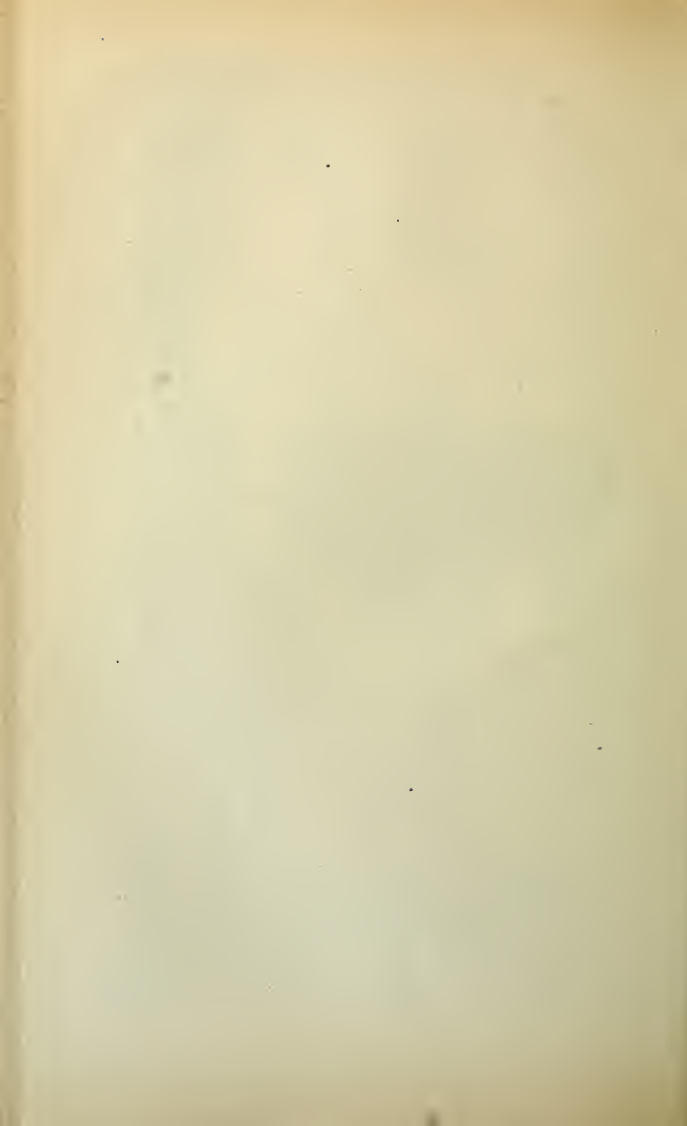
The United States forces lost three thousand men in this abortive effort.

It has been urged as a criticism upon this operation that General Grant knew it was futile to attempt to storm such a place, and hence it was a useless sacrifice to try. It may be that he did not hope to succeed, but the spade had been brought into disgrace by McClellan, and it is doubtful if the soldiers would have settled down to a siege without demonstrating first its necessity. It is problematical, too, whether the people would not have clamored for the speedy realization of their desire for the capture of Vicksburg, without a return to the ancient methods of warfare before walled cities, unless shown that it was impossible. However, the experience of Grant, like that of the Russians at Plevna, demonstrated the utter inability of an army on the outside to dislodge a determined foe, armed with modern weapons, from a fortress by assault.

In these assaults, and during the fighting of that historic siege, Logan was always at the front with his division. His command was stationed opposite the chief redoubt of the



SIEGE OF VICKSBURG — CANNON DISMOUNTED INSIDE THE REBEL WORKS.



rebels, and his troops mined, blew it up, and then rushed into the breach in the desperate struggle that ensued. He was ever vigilant and aggressive, and so conspicuous was his heroism that his division was chosen to lead the entrance of the Union army into the beleaguered citadel after it had fallen.

He was never satisfied to see his men exposed to dangers which he did not share. The Adjutant-General's headquarters were back about a mile, but he had two large tents moved up for his headquarters on the line. The officers called it "Logan's fighting headquarters," and tried to persuade him to move back, but he declared he intended to stay there, and stay he did, sleeping there as well, while the rebels threw nine-inch shells from a big gun called "Whistling Dick," into the camp without cessation. Finally, he had two nine-inch columbiads brought up and put in position within fifty feet of his tent, and sending to the fleet for a detachment of "Blue Jackets" to work them, he threw back metal of the same calibre as came from "Whistling Dick." Not a dozen rounds had been fired before the big gun of the enemy was knocked off its carriage and silenced forever.

A volume might be filled with anecdotes of Logan during the struggle, did space permit. He advised Grant to make another assault upon the 6th of July, believing that then the enemy must succumb, but the necessity of the attack was removed by the appearance of the flag of truce for the surrender three days before that time. He was present when Grant and Pemberton met to discuss the capitulation.

Says the Comte de Paris: "Logan's division was the first to enter Vicksburg;" and his comment is: "It had fully deserved this honor. Grant rode at the head."

Says Badeau: "Logan's division was one of those which had approached nearest the rebel works, and now was the first to enter the town. It had been heavily engaged in both assaults,

and was fairly entitled to this honor. The Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry marched at the head of the column, and placed its battle-torn flag on the court-house of Vicksburg. Grant rode into the town, with his staff, at the head of Logan's division."

General Logan was made Military Governor of the captured city, after the surrender of its garrison of 31,600 men. The capture included 2,153 officers, of whom 15 were generals, and 172 cannon, which, as General Grant stated, was "the largest capture of men and material ever made in war."

All honor to the brave and true,
Who fought the bloody battles through,
And from the ramparts victory drew
Where Vicksburg cowers ;
And o'er the trenches, o'er the slain,
Through iron hail and leaden rain,
Still plunging onward, might and main,
"Made Vicksburg ours."

Wave, wave your banners in the sky,
The glory give to God on high,
In lofty praises far outvie all other powers,
Who nerved the arms that struck the blow,
Which in vain o'erwhelmed the foe,
And laid his frowning bulwarks low,
"Made Vicksburg ours."*

The Board of Honor of the Seventeenth Corps presented Logan with a gold medal, on which was inscribed the names of their battles.

Being a man of the people, and of such impassioned eloquence upon the stump, President Lincoln asked him to come north and make a few speeches. The President said he needed him to fight "copperheads" in the rear, and, in point of fact, so bitter was the opposition of the Southern sym-

* Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.

pathizers that desertions were stimulated, and the loyal people needed encouragement to bear their burdens. After adjusting affairs at Vicksburg, Logan came as requested, and addressed mass meetings all over Illinois, many times in the face of threats that he would be killed, if he attempted to speak, by the Knights of the Golden Circle, against whose infamy he battled with all his power of argument and fierce denunciation.

In the course of his speech at the Chicago mass meeting, in August, he said :

If every man in this country is called an Abolitionist that is willing to fight for and sustain his Government, let him be called so. If belonging to the United States and being true and valiant soldiers, meeting the steel of Southern revolutionists, marching to the music of this Union, loving the flag of our country and standing by it in its severest struggles—if that makes us Abolitionists, let all of us be Abolitionists. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love his country, then I love my country, am willing to live for it, and willing to die for it. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love and revere that flag, then, I say, be it so. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love to hear the “Star-Spangled Banner” sung, and be proud to hear that such words were ever penned, or could ever be sung upon the battle-field by our soldiers, then I am proud to be an Abolitionist, and I wish to high Heaven that we had a million more ; then our rebellion would be at an end, and peace would again fold her gentle wings over a united people, and the old Union, the old friendship, again make happy the land where now the rebel flag flaunts dismally in the sultry Southern air.

* * * * *

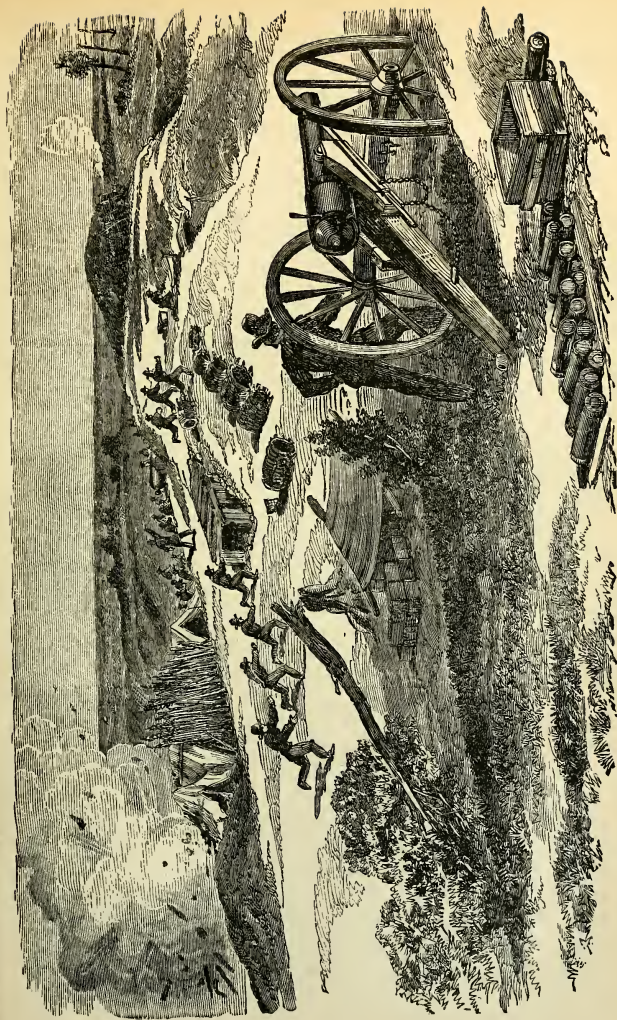
Let it not be said that those glorious boys who now sleep beneath the red clay of the South or the green sod of our own loved State have died in vain. Let those who are traducing the soldiers of the Government know the enormity of their crime and their error ; try to reclaim them and bring them back to duty and honor. If they heed not your appeals, if they still persist in their error and heresies, if they will not aid in maintaining the

Government and laws that protect them, and continue in their wicked aid and encouragement to this rebellion, send them to the other side where they belong; for the man who can live in this peaceful, happy and prosperous land and not be loyal and true to it, ought, like Cain, to be branded by an indelible mark and banished forever from his native paradise. No traitor, no sympathizer, no man who can lisp a word in favor of this rebellion or impair the chances of the Union cause, is fit for any other ruler than Jeff Davis. He should be put in front of the Union army, where he will get justice. [Applause.]

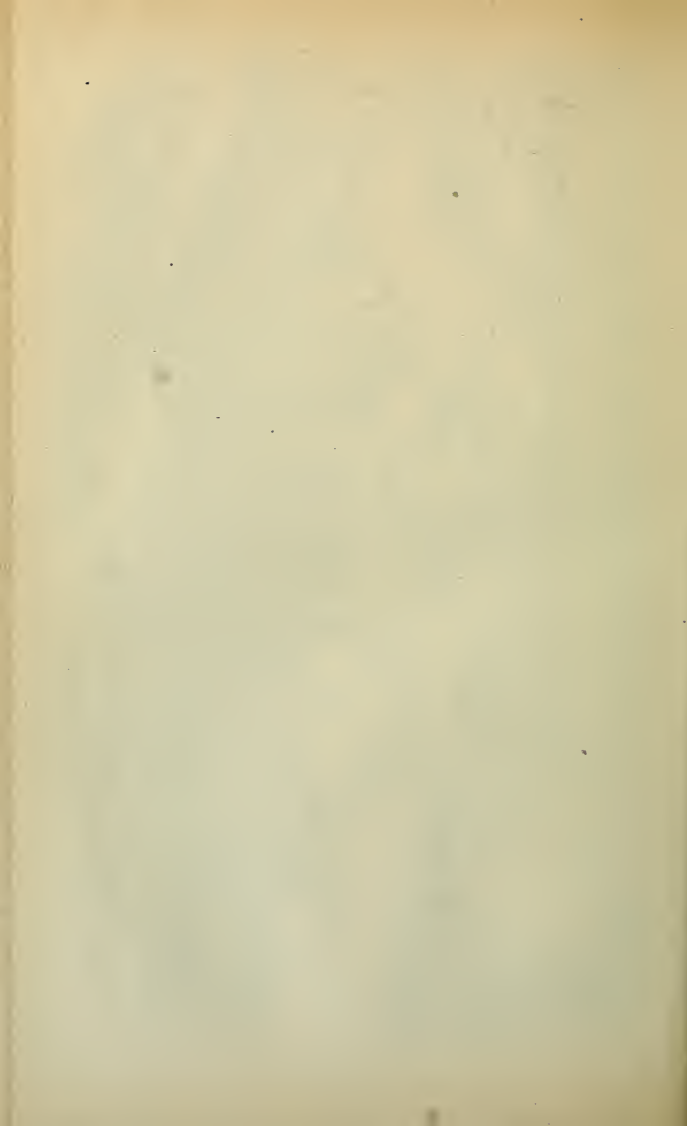
The man that can to-day raise his voice against the Constitution, the laws of the Government, with the design of injuring or in any way obstructing their operation, should, if I could pass sentence upon him, be hung fifty cubits higher than Haman, until his body blackened in the sun and his bones rattled in the wind.

In bidding you good-night—I trust I do so to loyal, good, true-hearted citizens and patriots, who love the country—it is in the hope that you all may reflect upon the duties of all men to their country in the hour of peril, and determine with renewed zeal and fervor to give such aid and assistance to the Government and army of the United States, in the prosecution of this war, as will cause that banner again to float in triumph upon every hill and mountain-top and in every vale, from the North to the South, from East to West.

The effect of these addresses upon the sentiment of the North was most striking, and the fires of patriotism and new courage were kindled all over the West especially.



LOGAN'S HEADQUARTERS AT THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.



CHAPTER V.

THE GEORGIA CAMPAIGN.

Logan in command of the Fifteenth Corps.—In winter quarters at Huntsville.—The “Snapper of the Whip.”—The attempt to flank the rebels at Dalton.—The day before Resaca.—Logan urges McPherson to let him charge a fort.—He disturbs the rest of a fellow-soldier.—The battle of Resaca.—Swimmers wanted.—Bloody repulse of the Confederates.—Forward, by the Right Flank.—The famous “battle without orders,” at Dallas.—General Geo. A. Stone’s description of the day.—Logan’s coolness under fire.—Drives the rebels at the Big Kenesaw.—Opposes useless slaughter at Little Kenesaw.—Charges a bluff.—Crosses the Chattahoochee.—At Marietta.—On to Decatur.—In line before Atlanta.—The great battle of July 22.—The death of McPherson.—Logan assumes command of the Army of the Tennessee and repulses Hood.—A broken promise.—A movement in the dark.—Howard in command.—The Fifteenth Corps unsupported at Ezra Chapel.—The battle of Jonesboro.—Hood allowed to escape.—The army in camp.—A story of the campaign around Atlanta.

WHEN General Grant was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General, Sherman was given the Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing the Armies of the Tennessee, the Cumberland, and the Ohio. In November, 1863, Logan was placed in command of the Fifteenth Corps, which both Grant and Sherman had in turn previously commanded, and the ensuing winter was spent at Huntsville, Ala., in active preparation for the Georgia campaign of the following spring, which was all carefully planned by Grant before he went East. Here, by Logan’s order, the corps adopted the famous badge of a cartridge-box bearing the legend “40 rounds.”

Early in May, 1864, the Army of the Tennessee, composed of Logan’s, Dodge’s and Blair’s corps, under McPherson,

began its co-operation with Sherman's advance movement, which was aimed at Atlanta. This army was Sherman's flanking column, which he designated as "the snapper of the whip with which he proposed to punish the enemy." In this service it underwent all the vicissitudes incident to constant marching on either flank, accompanied by terrible fighting, from the start up to the final investment of the rebel stronghold.

The first operation was an attempt to flank the rebel position at Dalton and Buzzard's Roost, by a movement to the right by Snake Creek Gap, to cut the railroad to Resaca. The attempt was unsuccessful, because it was found that Sherman's combined army would be necessary to drive the rebels from their strongly entrenched position.

On the 13th of May the general movement against Resaca was made, Logan's corps in the advance. It was his duty to make the assault upon the enemy's position, and he found him first, in front of the Second Division, where across an open field the rebels were posted in the timber. The skirmishers swept across the field, driving the rebels before them, led by General Logan in person. Two divisions pushed into the timber on the left of the Second, and Dodge moved his corps from the ferry road, down through the timber, to fill up a gap which remained between the Fifteenth Corps and the Oostanaula River. General Morgan L. Smith, who had moved to the right, entered the timber covering the hills in his front, and pushed rapidly forward.

The whole Fifteenth Corps now advanced and drove the enemy a mile and a half, taking the hills which they had been ordered to charge, thus securing a position overlooking Resaca and the bridges across the river. Logan wanted to push ahead at once, before the enemy had time to consolidate in his front, but he was ordered to entrench upon a line to the rear of his

advance, where he had thrown his troops across the only line of escape for the rebels.

The rest of that day was occupied in perfecting the line, throwing up breastworks, and putting batteries in position, while skirmishers and pickets along the front kept up a desultory fire until dark.

An officer who was an eye-witness of the occurrences, writing in the New York *Tribune*, gives the following account of the situation :

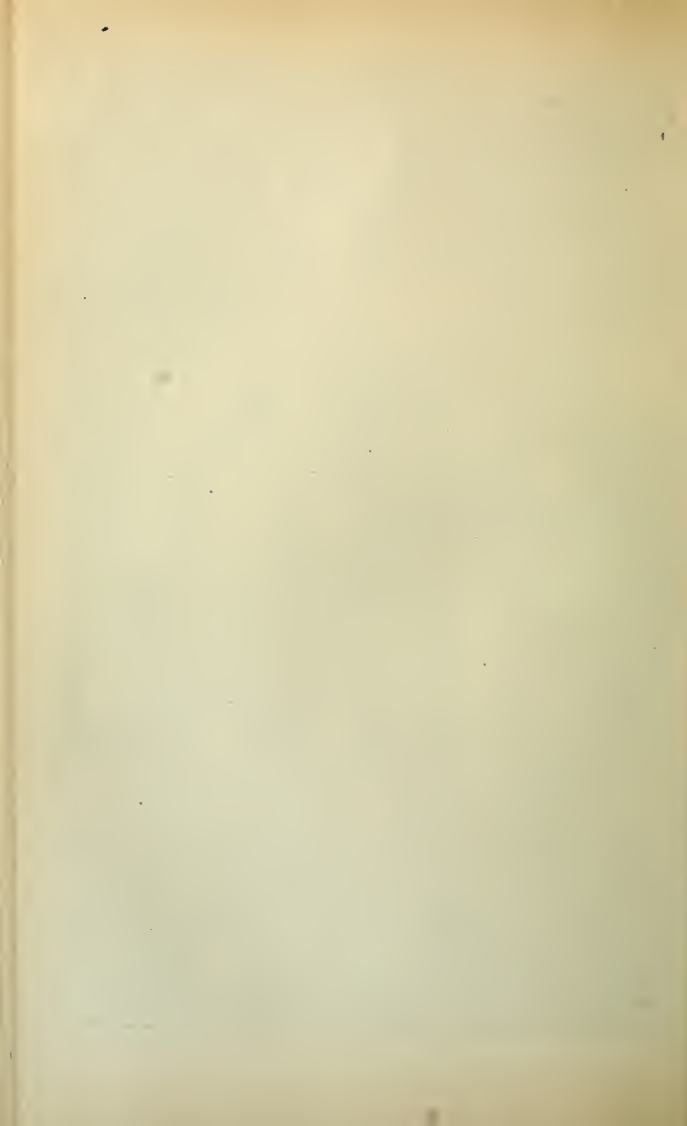
Logan belonged to the class of popular volunteer generals, and in the West was regarded somewhat as Phil Kearny was in the East. He had all the daring, dash and pugnacity of Kearny and Hooker. I was with him nearly all the day before the battle of Resaca, Georgia, on May 14, 1864, and slept in an ambulance with him the same night—that is, I slept part of the night in the ambulance—but he was so mad when awake, and so restless when sleeping, that, for my own comfort, I got up and lay down under the wagon on the ground. I never saw a madder man than Logan was that day and night. He had the advance of McPherson's corps on a flank movement around the left of the rebel army at Dalton, and had planted his division square across their only line of retreat. Just beyond a small fordable stream the rebels had built a fort commanding a bridge of great importance to the rebels, and Logan was preparing to assault it when McPherson, his corps commander, came up and stopped the movement, deeming it hazardous. Logan said he could carry the works with a single brigade and destroy the bridge with his two other brigades, thus cutting off the rebel retreat and forcing him to battle with Sherman's 100,000 men—quite double that of the rebel force. He pleaded with McPherson to let him go ahead, proposing to lead the assaulting column in person. From pleading he advanced to protestations, and then to curses "both loud and deep," and these became almost denunciations of McPherson, when deciding against an attack, he ordered Logan to march back to a strong defensive position and fortify it. It happened that I heard part of this rather stormy interview, and the same

evening General McPherson took occasion to explain to me that he had made this retrograde movement in obedience to imperative orders. It turned out to be one of the grave mistakes of the war, and Sherman severely criticised McPherson afterwards for not taking the risk suggested by Logan, though he sustained him in command. Logan's instinct for fighting proved correct on that occasion; it was subsequently discovered that the rebel fort at Resaca was held by only 1,600 dismounted Georgia militia cavalymen. Logan's veterans could have "run over them" if McPherson had let 'em loose with "Black Jack" at their head.

The next day General Logan was commanded to move in force upon the rebel works. Between his troops and the Confederate position ran a deep stream called Camp Creek, over which there were no bridges in his front. Logan called for swimmers, directing the men to strip off, plunge into the stream, and make for the other shore. A hot fire from the batteries was opened to cover the movement, but rebel artillery and sharpshooters made the undertaking extremely hazardous. In order to nerve the soldiers for the exploit, the General himself, drawing his boots and throwing off coat and vest, was the first man in the water striking out for the opposite bank. The clothing and accoutrements of the soldiers were drawn over by ropes, and in fifteen minutes the skirmish line was clad in its proper habiliments and deployed, covering the crossing of the two brigades of General Charles R. Wood and Giles A. Smith, which had been directed to take the advance. At six o'clock the skirmishers were at the foot of the hills driving the enemy before them, and the whole force of the two brigades, which had been formed under cover of the bank, arose and deployed at a double-quick, uncovering the position of the Confederates, displaying seven regimental colors. They were advancing in column by regiments, and it was evident that in a few minutes they would strike the small command Logan



THE PERPETUAL WORKS AT RESACA.



had, with overwhelming force. It was a perilous position for the two brigades, and Logan hurried along the front, steadying his lines and directing the men to hold their fire until the enemy was within sixty yards. In obedience to his directions, the rebels were allowed to advance until they were within two hundred feet of the Union line, when Logan's troops, suddenly rising, delivered a volley at a single crash, which shattered the ranks of the advancing host. In an instant the assaulting columns fell back, but reformed and came on again and again in the face of coolly directed volleys, which mowed them in swaths. They attempted to turn Logan's flank, but were driven back again, with great loss. The Union troops pressed forward, and, as darkness closed in upon the scene, were in possession of the works which made Resaca untenable. Before daylight it was found that the Confederates had abandoned the place as the result of the movement. In the desperate resistance which the Union troops made to the rebel assaults they lost some 500 men, while over 2,000 of the Confederates were placed *hors de combat*.

Logan thus opened the series of operations which continued with almost daily fighting until Atlanta was invested.

For the next two weeks there was continuous marching and fighting, the combined armies steadily pressing on towards the coveted seat of Confederate supplies. Still moving by the right flank, Logan's corps found the enemy in position near Dallas, May 27. The next day was fought the famous "battle without orders," known in history as the battle of Dallas, won by the Murat of the Army of the Tennessee.

Brigadier-General Geo. A. Stone, in a letter published in a recent issue of the press, gives the following graphic description of the defeat of Hardee's corps on that occasion :

MOUNT PLEASANT, IA., Jan. 17.

To the Editor :

In the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* is an article entitled "Fighting a Battle Without Orders," to this effect: That General Logan had referred in one of his recent speeches in the Fitz John Porter case to some battle fought without orders in the vicinity of Atlanta; that as it was not identified by name effort was made by the correspondent to identify it, and he visited General Sherman for that purpose; that General Sherman replied that he had not read General Logan's speech, hence could not say to which particular battle he referred; he had no doubt such an event occurred; his lines at times were fourteen miles long, and there were many days in which there was hard fighting; that orders were to fight whenever a chance offered; that "it was fight all the time, a constant order, so to speak, to strike a head whenever it appeared," etc.

Being present at this battle, which has attracted considerable attention, and attempts being made to identify it, I can tell something about it. General Logan is the hero of this battle, and it was one of the most brilliant of the many hard fights of his while in command of the Fifteenth Corps. Our corps (the Fifteenth) was in reserve that day.

A group of perhaps a dozen of us officers had accidentally met and were laughing and talking about being in reserve. To think that our corps—the Fifteenth Corps, Logan's corps, the corps formerly commanded by General Sherman—was in reserve when there was "beautiful fighting all along the line!"

It was an odd sensation to us. It had never happened before. Just then a staff officer, I think Col. McCoy, of General Sherman's staff, joined us, and remarked that he had just left General Logan "walking up and down like a caged hyena, growling at the situation."

The position of our corps at this time was about this: our right resting at a point about one-half mile to the rear and right of the extreme right of the front line.

My command was on the extreme right of the Fifteenth Corps, and was composed of the Fourth, Ninth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-

sixth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first Regiments of Iowa infantry, known as "the Iowa Brigade," but called officially "The Third Brigade, First Division, Fifteenth Army Corps."

Our arms were all stacked in line of battle on the color-line, with cartridge-boxes hanging on the bayonets. I have no data before me by which to give the day; but it was on one of those days during the time we invested Atlanta.

About 1 o'clock p. m. the enemy made one of their vigorous charges along the entire front line opposite our corps, and at the same time a strong column of at least a division struck the extreme right of the front line at right angles and in reverse, with such impetuosity that the troops could not hold their position, and the result was they were knocked down like ninepins.

The Confederates doubled up the front line and were capturing the works rapidly. Our men were in such confusion that it was evident this storming column must be forced back, and at once, or everything in our front would give way before this splendid Confederate attack.

At this moment was needed the superb bravery and military genius of a captain able to realize the grand solemnity of the occasion and competent to act without delay.

We had that captain. General John A. Logan was there, the right man in the right place. He took in the situation at a glance, and struck as strikes the thunderbolt.

In less time than I take to write this episode he fell upon this Confederate host, taking them at the same disadvantage as they had taken the front line, and was hurling them from the field as with the "Sirocco of God's wrath."

At the time the Confederate attack began, my command, and, I think, most of our corps, were lounging in idle confusion; but in ten minutes the scene changed as suddenly as, and something like that gotten up for James Fitz James by Roderick Dhu.

General Logan appeared, galloping down the line in the direction of my brigade, sans staff, sans coat, shouting: "Fall in! Forward!"

With no time to put on my coat, I grasped my sabre, cut the

halter of the nearest horse, mounted, and followed the General, echoing his words in hurrying my command to the rescue. When Logan's voice was first heard, the men, catching the spirit of the occasion, flew to the color-line, grasped the nearest musket, and started for the front, unfixing bayonets, and slinging cartridge-boxes to place as they ran, with their blouses left, as Bo Peep's sheep did their tails, "behind them."

Inasmuch as my brigade was nearest the enemy, we were the advance of the Fifteenth Corps in this charge.

I rode with General Logan, and hence, as intimated before, was an eye witness.

En route, to exclamations from the men, such as: "Where is our regiment? Where our officers?" the General replied: "D—n your regiments! D—n your officers! Forward and yell like h—l!"

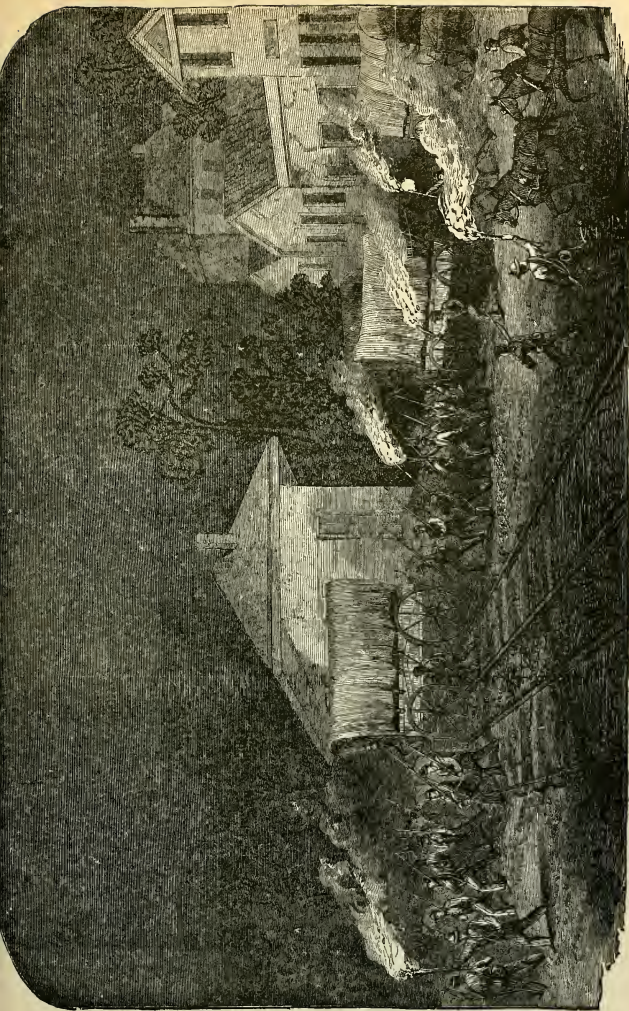
Then, ordering me to have my men yell and forward faster, I called his attention to their almost deafening screams, and that hundreds were keeping up, although his horse and mine were in a gallop.

An amusing incident occurred in the wild charge—too good to be lost—and many of my men afterwards laughed among themselves about it at the General's expense.

Nearing the battle-ground, an artilleryman with his caisson was met in full retreat. Directing me to give him a pistol, General Logan charged upon the batteryman, halted him, and, with the pistol but a few inches from his head, said in about these words: "— you, if you move—yes, if you move even a foot further to the rear—I'll blow your brains out. Right about that ammunition-wagon and rejoin your command!" He did.

As the caisson turned and started to the front, the horses in a gallop, my men laughed, screamed and yelled in delight, "Bully for Logan."

As the General whipped the pistol towards the man's head, he did it with such a spasmodic jerk that the cylinder flew some yards away, and neither he nor the poor wretch discovered that the weapon then was as dangerous as the old lady's musket, without lock, stock, or barrel.



LOGAN'S WAGON TRAINS PASSING RESACA AT NIGHT.

In a few moments we were on the ground, where there was work to do.

Then, as if by inspiration, the entire command realized what Logan meant by "D—n your regiments and officers."

He meant he could not waste those precious moments to form a line as at dress-parade. Now it was, that the entire command, regardless of officers and organizations being in place, sprang into line like magic.

What mattered it now if divisions, brigades, and regiments were all mixed up?

We were all there, in shape for fighting, had our tools with us, and Logan at the head in person.

You remember when Uncle Toby said over the sick Le Fevre: "By God he shall not die," that the Recording Angel, as he wrote the charge in the Book of Life, dropped a tear and it was washed away forever.

That is not, I believe, the usual system of book-keeping taught in our commercial colleges, but this fact does not disprove any different method in vogue above, and therefore no doubt General Logan's account for that particular day was balanced as was Uncle Toby's.

The Confederates could not withstand this sudden, unexpected, resistless charge of Logan; and, although they fought desperately to maintain the advantage gained by their hard fighting, they were soon in confusion and swept from the field. Our lines were re-established and the day was won. Twice did the enemy reform and come back to the attack, but were repulsed each time with considerable loss.

This is the battle mentioned by the *Commercial* as "Attracting considerable attention and not identified." I account for this:

First, General Logan being the hero of it, and fighting it without orders, naturally felt some delicacy in making it too prominent by a detailed report.

Second, as General Sherman says: "There was fighting in that campaign all the time," hence the excitement of one battle had not died away before a new one replaced it.

The third reason is an individual one, perhaps wrong, and therefore I shall not mention it.

I doubt if a more daring battle, one more brilliantly conceived and executed, one that prevented more dire disaster, occurred during the Civil War, unless it be Sheridan's world-renowned victory at Winchester.

In my opinion, had Logan's attack been delayed two hours the enemy would have driven the front line from the field with great loss to us in life, prisoners, guns, and ammunition.

It would have proved the worst "black eye" Sherman ever got, and a day of sorrow to this country.

Contrast this conduct of Logan with that of Fitz John Porter during those three dark days of General Pope.

* * * * *

General McClellan's letter to General Porter, although inferential evidence, proves plainer than any circumstantial or *prima facie* evidence on record his guilt, and to me is proof positive that General Porter had deliberately made up his mind to sacrifice General Pope. Therefore with me "the findings of the court martial are proved." My position may appear inconsistent in this: I uphold General Logan, and he disobeyed orders, or fought without orders; but reflect on the difference in war of refusing to fight when ordered, or fighting when not ordered.

* * * * *

Logan's utter fearlessness in battle was such that his troops stood in awe of him. How his life was spared was their constant wonder. He would boldly ride between the fire of both enemy and friend with as much indifference as if upon dress-parade. He could calmly watch the sheet of flame leap out of the tremendous crash of the enemy's volleys, as though he did not know the storm of death was sweeping the field. Still, he had felt the sting of the invisible bullet and the power of the exploding shell. He was not like some great captains who are never hit, but was aware that the missiles of the enemy do

not respect rank. Wellington's only scratch was a grazed heel; Grant was never touched, though fearless in his exposure of himself; Sheridan merely lost the heel of his boot once, and the gallant Skobelev escaped from all his battles with merely a slight wound from a spent bullet, in the trenches.

At Dallas, Logan was wounded again in the arm, but went on with his duty, with the injured member in a sling.

General Sherman is reported to have told a story of an occurrence, two days after the battle of Dallas, which illustrates his coolness in danger. There was firing as usual in front, and Logan was pointing out to Sherman and McPherson the position of the enemy. A sharpshooter's bullet passed through his coat-sleeve, drawing the blood, across his extended arm, and striking Colonel Taylor, an officer who was with them, squarely in the breast. Logan was in the middle of a sentence at the instant, but did not wince nor make a pause in what he was saying.

Two weeks more of marching and skirmishing found the Army of the Tennessee before the heights of the big Kenesaw Mountain, which Logan charged and seized, driving the rebels in confusion from their works, taking them on the right flank, and capturing 350 prisoners.

On the 26th of June Logan's corps relieved the Fourteenth before the impregnable fortress where the rebels for days had resisted every effort to dislodge them.

Says Ridpath, the historian :

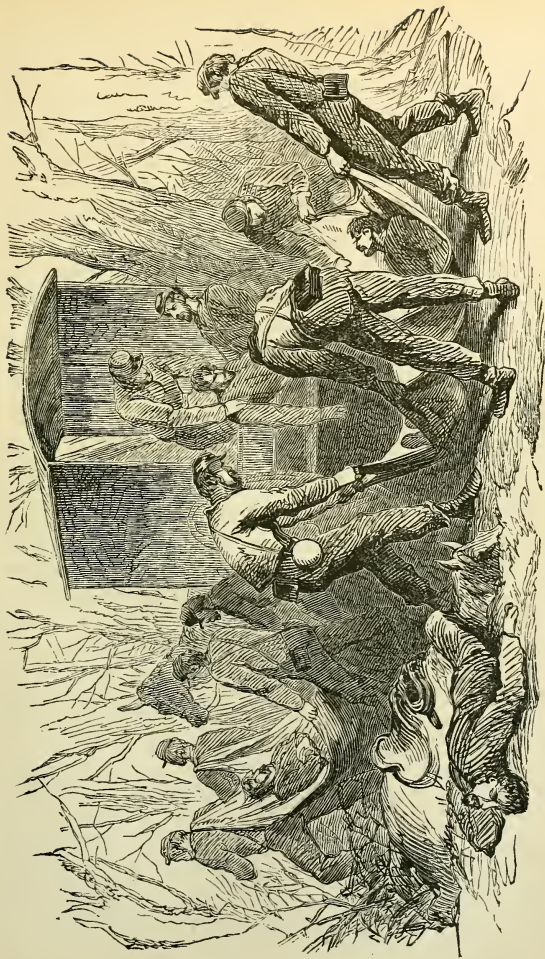
Details of the many attacks against the rebels when they were intrenched upon Kenesaw Mountain, prove the military wisdom of General Logan in advising against them. With General McPherson, he was at General Sherman's headquarters, when it was decided to make the first attack upon Kenesaw. At once

he protested, although he could scarcely believe the intention to make the assault was earnest. Upon discovering that it was really contemplated, he emphasized his protest, coupling it with the opinion that to send troops against that mountain would only result in useless slaughter. Finding his opinion likely to be disregarded, he went still further, and declared it to be a movement which, in his judgment, would be nothing less than the murder of brave men. In all of this he was warmly seconded by General McPherson. They did not succeed in averting the slaughter.

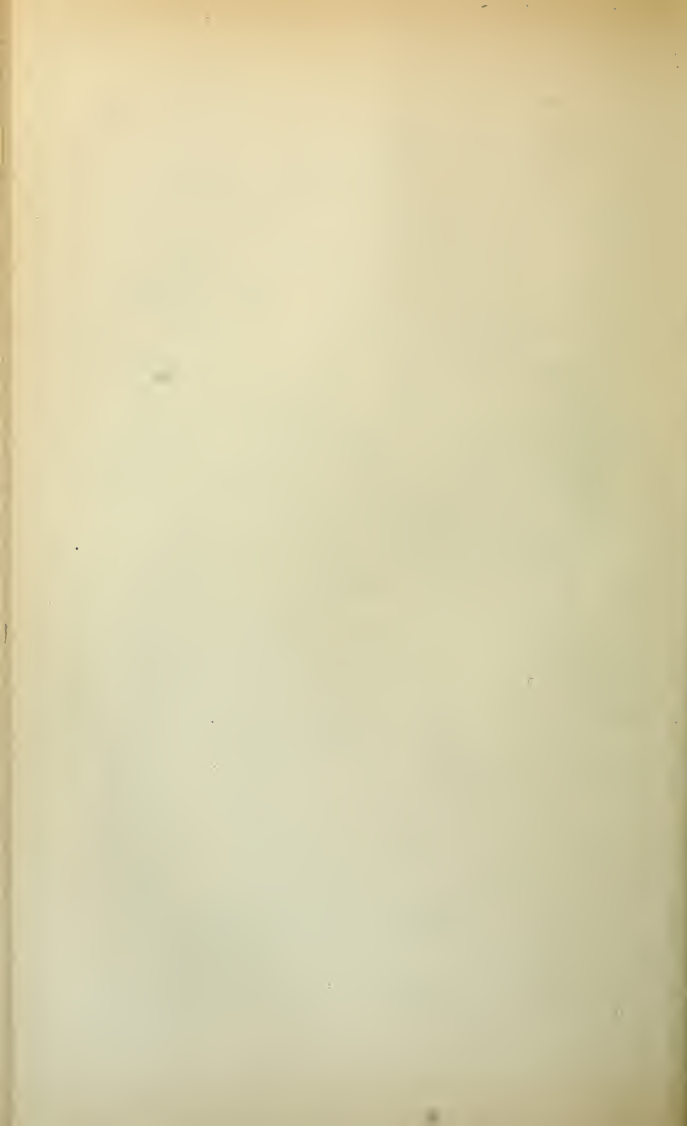
Ordered against his judgment to make the assault, Logan led the advance with his devoted corps against the Gibraltar at the crest, promptly at 8 o'clock in the morning. The men bravely went forward at the command of the leader under whose eye they never faltered and had never known defeat. In the face of a storm of musketry they rushed over two lines of works and pushed back the obstinate rebels up the rugged heights to the summit. Here they were mown down like grass before a sickle, whole lines melting away under an enfilading fire of musketry and cannister, but they pressed on to the very foot of a precipitous bluff, whose perpendicular walls forbade further advance, while they were slaughtered like sheep, without the power to strike back. Then it was known that Logan's advice to flank the position must, after all the sacrifice, be followed, and the attacking columns withdrew.

Speaking of the assaults upon this position, General Sherman says: "Both failed, costing us many valuable lives; among them those of Generals Harker and McCook. Colonel Rice and others were badly wounded. Our aggregate loss was near eight thousand, while we inflicted comparative little loss upon the enemy, who lay behind his well-formed breastworks."

Logan felt a just pride in the valor and efficiency of his



GATHERING THE WOUNDED AT FOOT OF KENESAW.



soldiers, and it was a cruel blow to him, as well as to the corps, to see them needlessly butchered. General Schofield is credited with the assertion that "Logan's care of his division, and his personal presence and example, made it equal to two of the ordinary divisions of the army."

On the 2d of July the three corps of the Army of the Tennessee were moved down to Turner's ferry, across the Chattahoochee, and Johnston, seeing that his rear was threatened, abandoned Kenesaw and once more fell back towards Atlanta. Logan pressed close to their rear-guard at Marietta, where he captured several hundred prisoners; thence turning towards the Augusta railroad, which he struck and destroyed, fifty miles away, near Stone Mountain, he moved on to Decatur. His corps was now the extreme left wing, and with continuous and sharp fighting they finally went into position July 21, and Atlanta was at last invested, as Vicksburg had been thirteen months before, after the great victory at Champion Hills.

General Logan's corps occupied an intrenched position that night, the Army of the Ohio being on his right, and on his left the companion corps of the Army of the Tennessee, the Seventeenth. The other corps, the Sixteenth, had not yet come up, and the cavalry, whose duty it was to cover their flanks, had been ordered off to burn a bridge near Covington, by General Sherman's directions.

When night closed in, before an eventful morrow, McPherson and his corps commanders, Logan and Blair, believed that the enemy was in strong force in their immediate front, and disposed their troops accordingly.

On the next day, the 22d of July, was fought the most desperate battle in which the Army of the Tennessee was ever engaged, and on that day Logan held in his hand the fate of that splendid organization and the military reputation of William Tecumseh Sherman. If the day had ended other-

wise, where would have been "The March to the Sea," and that brilliant succession of events which ensued? Under whose leadership would the Army of the West have closed the war? Who can say?

The military genius of General Sherman was not brought into requisition that day, and the glory of its achievements belongs entirely to Logan. Indeed, Sherman was under a misapprehension as to the position and intentions of the enemy, and had directed another movement that morning, as the following order shows:

THREE AND A HALF MILES EAST OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA,
July 22, 1864.

Major-General JOHN A. LOGAN, commanding Fifteenth Army Corps:

The enemy having evacuated their works in front of our lines, the supposition of Major-General Sherman is that they have given up Atlanta, and are retreating in the direction of East Point.

You will immediately put your command in pursuit to the south and east of Atlanta, without entering the town. You will take a route to the left of that taken by the enemy, and try to cut off a portion of them while they are pressed in the rear and on our right by Generals Schofield and Thomas.

Major-General Sherman desires and expects a vigorous pursuit. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES B. MCPHERSON,
Major-General.

This order was issued by McPherson, by direction of General Sherman, in the belief that Hood, who had relieved Johnston, had evacuated Atlanta and was in full retreat.

McPherson himself did not believe that General Sherman was correct in his supposition, but he had no alternative but to do as directed. He consulted with General Logan, going

to the latter's headquarters, as soon as he had dispatched the written order to the corps commanders, for that purpose. Having discussed the situation with Logan, he proceeded to General Sherman's headquarters to report what he had done, and then returned to see what was going on with the various commands.

The Army of the Tennessee embraced then two divisions of the Sixteenth Corps, under General Dodge ; two divisions of the Seventeenth Corps, under General Blair, and the Fifteenth, Logan's corps.

They did not start off to pursue Hood, for before the contemplated movement could be inaugurated, the enemy was found to be on the offensive and advancing in great force. Indeed, the flank of the Seventeenth Corps was suddenly enveloped, and the men found themselves compelled to meet their foes in both front and rear. The position of the command was seen to be perilous in the extreme, and the Second Division of the Sixteenth Corps was moved to its support at a double-quick, being ordered to form on the left of the sorely pressed Seventeenth in refused line. In the haste and confusion they passed too far to the rear, and in consequence, instead of supporting Blair's men, they were separated from them by a wide gap.

McPherson waited impatiently until he should have heard the report of their volleys, and hearing nothing, started alone to ride across the gap in the direction of their position, to ascertain what was the cause of their silence. He took a blind road leading through the timber, and had gone but a short distance when he encountered a body of troops, whom he saluted, supposing, no doubt, that they were some of the command for which he was looking. It proved, as was afterwards learned from Confederate accounts, a company of Claiburne's division of Hardee's corps ; and upon McPherson's

refusal to halt at command, they fired a volley, and the unfortunate general fell dead.

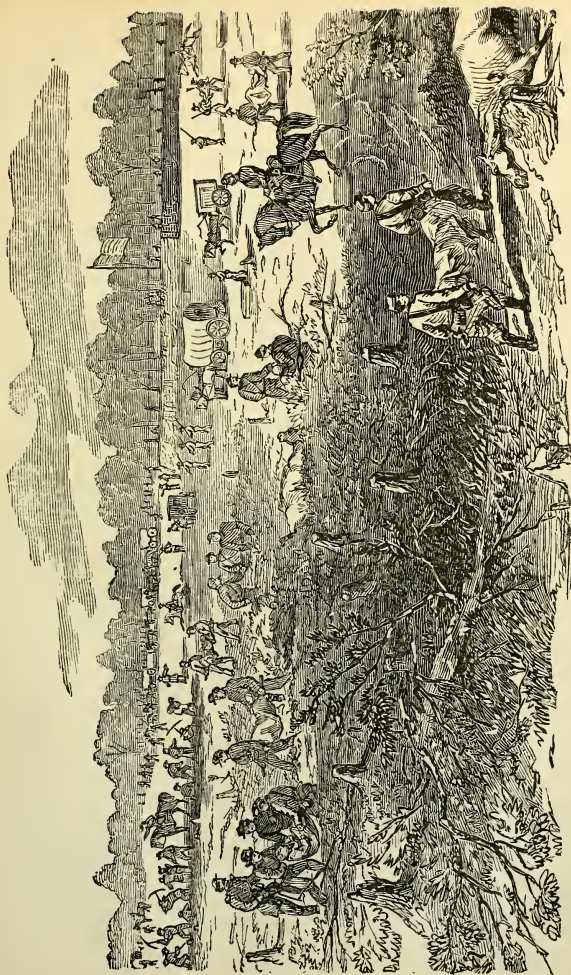
The action had just fairly opened and was beginning to rage fiercely all along the line. General Logan was hotly engaged with a solid mass of infantry charging his corps, when word was brought to him that McPherson was dead, and he was directed to take command of the army.

Never was there a more trying situation for a commander. The Seventeenth Corps was completely flanked, fighting on both sides of its intrenchments. His own right was threatened through the withdrawal of the Sixteenth Corps. He knew that the loss of McPherson then was more disastrous than the slaughter of a thousand men. He was the trusted commander, and that they were being defeated every soldier knew. It was then that they needed the guidance of a leader who could inspire superhuman deeds.

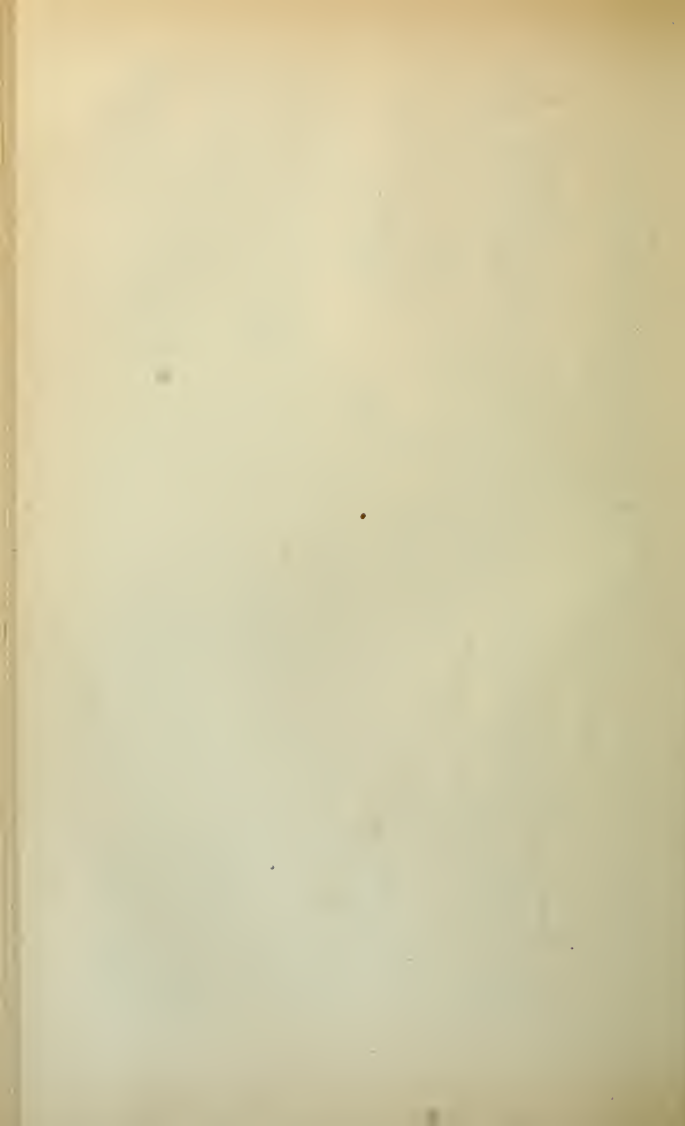
Such was the crushing responsibility which fell upon Logan at that awful moment. He rose to the supreme requirements of the occasion, and with a hurried order to the general in his immediate front, he dashed off through that cyclone of shot and shell to save the Seventeenth Corps.

There was another crisis to be met, however. General Morgan L. Smith's division of his own corps, the Fifteenth, occupied a position across the railroad, and one of its brigades, with the batteries of Woods and De Gress, was considerably advanced. The Confederates had come on, charging in heavy columns upon this single brigade, crushing it and capturing the batteries. The men had fallen back in confusion upon the main line, which in turn threatened to break in a panic. General Smith was vainly striving to hold his command in check when, like an apparition, Logan, mounted upon his well known black stallion, arrived in their midst.

They recognized the voice that so often had fallen upon



BURYING THE DEAD ON THE BATTLE FIELD BEFORE ATLANTA.



their ears above the roar of battle. There was no escape from the fiery glance of the eagle eye that blazed upon them. There was not a man who, in the presence of his leader, dared to run away.

"Halt!" he commanded in trumpet tones. "Halt! are you cowards? Would you disgrace, at last, the proud name of the Fifteenth Corps? Let McPherson and revenge be your battle-cry. Will you hold this line with me?"

"We will! we will!" came back in chorus, and seizing a flag from a color-bearer, Logan rode among the men, who rallied with cheers, and no assault could move them. Everywhere their leader was in sight, riding hat in hand, all along the lines, his coal-black head bared to the storm of battle.

The soldiers of the distressed and wavering Seventeenth greeted with wild hurrahs the well known form of "Black Jack," the famous commander of the Fifteenth Corps, as though he had come with an army at his back. Wellington did not need Blucher half so much as they needed help, but one man was all that was added to their ranks. They knew he was a host.

On came the charging troops of Hood. Their prowess was of no avail. They but threw themselves against a wall of fire, and heaped their dead at the feet of men who knew no defeat.

Seven grand assaults were made that afternoon, but at night their force was spent, and the Army of the Tennessee were the victors on that field of carnage. The line of the morning had been maintained, the guns retaken, and the enemy, weaker by thousands of killed, wounded and captured, had withdrawn behind the defenses of Atlanta.

General Logan briefly reported the results of the battle as follows;

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE,
BEFORE ATLANTA, GEORGIA, July 24, 1864.

GENERAL: I have the honor to report the following summary of the result of the battle of the 22d inst.: Total loss in killed, wounded, and missing, three thousand five hundred and twenty-one (3,521), and ten (10) pieces of artillery. We have buried and delivered to the enemy, under a flag of truce sent in by them, in front of the Seventeenth Corps, one thousand (1,000) of their killed. The number of their dead in front of the Fourth Division of the same corps, including those on the ground not now occupied by our troops, General Blair reports, will swell the number of their dead on his front to two thousand (2,000). The number of dead buried in front of the Fifteenth Corps up to this hour is three hundred and sixty (360), and the commanding officer reports at least as many more unburied. The number of dead buried in front of the Sixteenth Corps was four hundred and twenty-two (422).

We have over one thousand (1,000) of their wounded in our hands—a larger number of wounded having been carried off by them during the night, after the engagement.

We captured eighteen stands of colors, and have them now; also captured five thousand (5,000) stand of arms.

The attack was made on our lines seven times, and was seven times repulsed. Hood's, Hardee's, and Wheeler's commands engaged us. We have sent to the rear one thousand (1,000) prisoners, including thirty-seven (37) commissioned officers of high rank. We still occupy the field, and the troops are in fine spirits.

Our total loss is three thousand five hundred and twenty-one (3,521); the enemy's dead thus far reported buried or delivered to them is three thousand two hundred and twenty (3,220); total prisoners sent North, one thousand and seventeen (1,017); total prisoners wounded in our hands, one thousand (1,000); estimated loss of the enemy, over ten thousand (10,000).

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN, *Major-General.*

Major-General W. T. SHERMAN,

Commanding Military Division of the Mississippi.

General Sherman, in his report of the battle, said :

General Logan succeeded him [McPherson], and commanded the Army of the Tennessee through this desperate battle with the same success and ability that had characterized him in the command of the corps or a division.

He placed the loss to Hood's army at 8,000 men in the aggregate.

General Grant, in his official report, says :

About 1 P.M. of this day (July 22d), the brave, accomplished, and noble-hearted McPherson was killed. General Logan succeeded him, and commanded the Army of the Tennessee through this desperate battle, and until he was superseded by Major-General Howard on the 27th, with the same success and ability that had characterized him in the command of a corps or division.

Naturally General Logan himself has contributed one of the most graphic descriptions of the events of that day, except so far as his own part in the mighty ordeal was concerned. It was on the occasion of the unveiling of the McPherson Statue, at Washington. After explaining General Sherman's order to advance, upon the supposition that Atlanta had been evacuated, and the subsequent discovery of the error by McPherson and himself, and their notification of Sherman of that fact, he proceeded to say :

* * * * Firing was heard to the left, and in the direction of Decatur. The enemy had turned our flank. Hastening at once to the left, sending his staff in every direction to bring up all the available forces to strengthen his lines, he, with a single orderly, rode into a blind path leading to General Giles A. Smith's division. Here he was met by a stray detachment of Pat Claiborne's command, who hailed him and then delivered a volley, killing him. This was a little after 12 o'clock. A staff officer immediately notified General Sherman of his death,

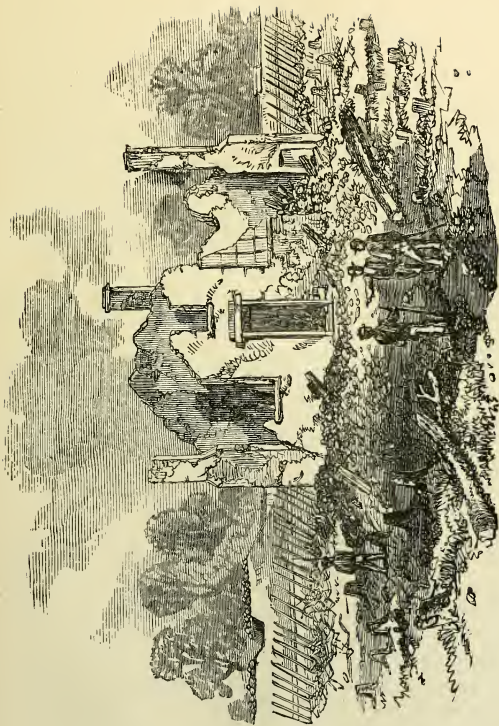
and I was placed in command. At once General McPherson's staff reported to me, and aided me with the ability, promptness, and courage which made them so valuable in their services to him.

* * * * *

The news of his death spread with lightning speed along the lines, sending a pang of deepest sorrow to every heart as it reached the ear; but especially terrible was the effect on the Army of the Tennessee. It seemed as though a burning fiery dart had pierced every breast, tearing asunder the flood-gates of grief, but at the same time heaving to their very depths the fountains of revenge. The clenched hands seemed to sink into the weapons they held, and from the eyes gleamed forth flashes terrible as lightning. The cry "McPherson! McPherson!" rose above the din of battle, and, as it rang along the line, swelled in power until the roll of musketry and booming of cannon seemed drowned by its echoes.

McPherson again seemed to lead his troops—and where McPherson leads, victory is sure. Each officer and soldier, from the succeeding commander to the lowest private, beheld, as it were, the form of their bleeding chief leading them onward to battle. "McPherson!" and "Onward to victory!" were their only thoughts; bitter, terrible revenge, their only aim. There was no such thought that day as stopping short of victory or death. The firm, spontaneous resolve was to win the day or perish with their slain leader on the bloody field. Fearfully was his death avenged that day. His army, maddened by his death, and utterly reckless of life, rushed with savage delight into the fiercest onslaughts, and fearlessly plunged into the very jaws of death. As wave after wave of Hood's daring troops dashed with terrible fury upon our lines, they were hurled back with a fearful shock, breaking their columns into fragments, as the granite headland breaks into foam the ocean billows. Across the narrow line of works raged the fierce storm of battle, the hissing shot and bursting shell raining death on every hand.

Over dead and dying friends and foes rushed the swaying host, the shout of rebels confident of victory only drowned by the bat-



THE BATTLE-FIELD WHERE M_CPERSON WAS KILLED.

ble-cry "McPherson!" which went up from the Army of the Tennessee. Twelve thousand gallant men bit the dust ere the night closed in, and the defeated and baffled enemy, after failing in his repeated and desperate assaults upon our lines, was compelled to give up the hopeless contest. Though compelled to fight in front and rear, victory crowned our arms.

The foe, angry and sullen, moved slowly and stubbornly from the well-contested field, where his high hopes of victory had been so sadly disappointed. Following up the advantage gained—and many minor contests ensued during our stay in front of Atlanta—the Army of the Tennessee moved on to Jonesboro, where it met the enemy on the 31st of August, and routed him completely, effectually demoralizing his forces. It was then that the roar of our victorious guns, mingling with deafening peals, announced that the rebel general, conquered and dismayed, had blown up his magazines and evacuated Atlanta, and that the last stronghold of the West was ours.

Says John S. C. Abbott, the historian, in writing of this engagement: "Hood was a mere reckless, desperate 'fire-eater.' In a frenzy like that which reigns in a drunken row, he hurled his masses, infuriated with whisky, upon the patriot lines. He seemed reckless of slaughter, apparently resolved to carry his point or lose the last man. General Logan was by no means his inferior in impetuous daring, and far his superior in all those intellectual qualities of circumspection, coolness and judgment requisite to constitute a great general."

At midnight after that day of battle General Logan repaired to Sherman's headquarters, accompanied by a few of his staff, to report what he had done. General Sherman listened with admiration, and the most unstinted expressions of gratitude and praise, to Logan's recital. "You shall command the Army of the Tennessee for this day's work," he repeated again and again.

Five days later the order, "General Howard will take com-

mand of the Army of the Tennessee," came like a great disappointment to those veterans who had followed McPherson and Logan from the stronghold of the Mississippi to the last gate of the Confederacy, before which they lay.

General Logan returned to the command of his old corps without a murmur. Duty was his guiding star, and out of the dark sky of ingratitude it shone the brighter. It was the soldier who carried the musket whose heart was sore. In Logan they beheld an idolized leader, of whom the entire army was proud. Like Frederick the Great, he made men of iron by his discipline, and he was a very Tancred on the field of battle. Promoted on the field, he had saved them when on the brink of defeat, and they felt that he had won the right to lead them and they to follow him. Logan's humiliation was a triumph for tradition. Pride of caste was unwilling to admit that genius was as worthy of honor as a course at West Point.

When the actors in that midnight scene shall have passed away, and relentless Truth shall sit down to write the history of the sequel to that battle before Atlanta, the page will blush forever.

During the five days which General Logan commanded the Army of the Tennessee one of the most creditable feats any military leader ever achieved was accomplished. The retreat of Cortez from Tenochtitlan on the terrible "Noche Triste" was not more perilous, although the result proved so different.

It was so delicate a performance that if he had failed his historians would probably not have been called upon to apologize for it.

The rebels and the United States forces at this time were entrenched within a very short distance of each other, watching like tigers to see who should spring first. General Sherman suddenly ordered that the three corps of the Army of the Tennessee withdraw without the knowledge of the

enemy and move seven miles to the right. Napoleon's passage of the Alps was an easy task compared with this movement of an army, with its trains, artillery and camps, seven miles in an unknown wilderness, in the darkness where the flaming of a torch or the creaking of a wheel would disclose all to the foe and defeat the object of the movement. The wheels were muffled with hay, and so silently did the troops steal away that it was not till morning broke, and disclosed the situation, that the rebels knew what had transpired. The movement had just been safely accomplished, under the tireless commander's personal supervision, and the new position taken without the loss of a man, when, upon the morning of the 27th, he was informed that he had been superseded by Howard.

The battle of Ezra Chapel was the result of Logan's successful flank movement. His corps had barely made a hasty barricade with rails and earth in their front when Hood's desperate legions fell upon them again.

A writer, who was in the battle, thus describes the action :

With hardly time for the overtaxed soldiers to recover their exhausted energies, the Army of the Tennessee was moved again around to the right of the Union line, and on the morning of the 28th of July, General Logan, having been relieved from the temporary command of the army by the appointment of General Howard, assumed command of his old corps, and, while moving it into position, in line of battle, on the extreme right of our army, just as he gained a commanding ridge upon which was situated "Ezra Chapel," the whole corps became suddenly and furiously engaged with the enemy. Our troops had not had a moment to construct even the rudest defense, but they held their position and, after about one hour of terrific fighting, the enemy retired. He, however, soon reformed, and again made a desperate assault, which was subsequently repeated four successive times, with like results. The temporary lulls in the fighting did

not at any time exceed five minutes. It was an open field fight, in which the enemy, consisting of Hardee's and Lee's corps, greatly exceeded us in numerical strength, but we exceeded him in spirit and determination. The engagement lasted from 11.30 A.M. until darkness compelled a cessation. Logan captured five battle-flags, about 2,000 muskets, and 106 prisoners, not including 73 wounded left on the field. Over 600 of the enemy's dead were buried in our front; a large number were probably carried off during the night, as the enemy did not leave the field until near daylight. Their loss was not less than 5,000. Logan's only reached 562.

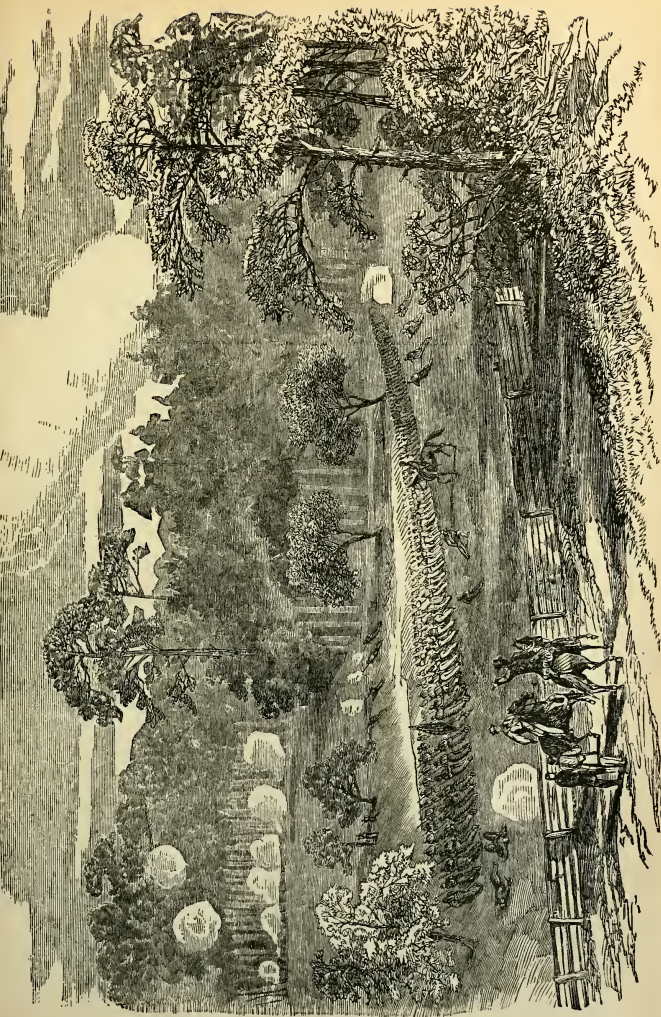
Logan's corps was left alone that day to withstand the repeated assaults of the rebels, and manfully they received the shock, hurling back the advancing hosts six times with great slaughter.

General Sherman in his report says that Logan commanded in person, and repulsed the rebel army completely. In another place he remarks of this engagement: "General Logan, on this occasion, was conspicuous as on the 22d, his corps being chiefly engaged; but General Howard had drawn from the other corps, the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, certain reserves, which were near at hand, but not used."

General Logan's report runs as follows:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS, BEFORE
ATLANTA, GA., July 29, 1864.

COLONEL: I have the honor to report that in pursuance of orders I moved my command in position on the right of the Seventeenth Army Corps, which was the extreme right of the army in the field, on the night and morning of the 27th and 28th instant, and during my advance to a more desirable position we were met by the rebel infantry from Hood's and Lee's corps, who made a desperate and determined attack at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning of the 28th.



My lines were protected only by logs and rails hastily thrown in front of them. The first onset was received and checked, and the battle commenced, lasting until about three o'clock in the afternoon. During that time six successive charges were made, which were six times gallantly repulsed, each time with fearful loss to the enemy. Later in the evening, my lines were several times assaulted vigorously, but terminated with like result. The most of the fighting occurred on Generals Harrow and Smith's fronts, which formed the centre and right of the line. The troops could not have displayed more courage, nor greater determination not to yield. Had they shown less they would have been driven from their position. Brigadier-Generals Wood, Harrow and Smith's division commands are entitled to great credit for gallant conduct and skill in repelling the assaults. My thanks are due to Major-Generals Blair and Dodge for sending me re-enforcements at a time when they were much needed.

My losses are fifty killed, 439 wounded, and 83 missing ; aggregate, 572.

The division of General Harrow captured five battle-flags. There were about fifteen hundred or two thousand muskets captured ; 106 prisoners were captured, exclusive of 73 wounded, who have been removed to hospitals and are being taken care of by our surgeons ; 565 rebels up to this time have been buried, and about 200 supposed to be yet unburied. Large numbers were undoubtedly carried away during the night, as the enemy did not withdraw until nearly daylight. The enemy's loss could not have been, in my judgment, less than six or seven thousand.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN,

Major-General, commanding Fifteenth Army Corps.

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. T. CLARK,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Howard endorsed the report as follows :

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE,
BEFORE ATLANTA, GEORGIA, July 29, 1864.

In forwarding the within report I wish to express my high gratification with the conduct of the troops engaged. I never saw better conduct in battle.

The General commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps, though ill and much worn out, was indefatigable, and the success of the day is as much attributable to him as to any one man. His officers, and in fact all the officers of his army that commanded my observation, co-operated promptly and heartily with him.

O. O. HOWARD,

Major-General.

A writer in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* of that week, gives the following interesting description of the engagement :

General Logan's Fifteenth Corps has again added to the imperishable honors won on many a bloody field. It has met the enemy once more and routed them. The battle of the 28th was more brilliant than any of its predecessors, from the fact that the whole rebel army was massed against a single corps, with a view, if possible, of breaking it, and getting at our communications in the vicinity of the Chattahoochee.

The Army of the Tennessee, which for so long a time held a position on our left, had been ordered to take up a position on our right, and had executed the movement with great skill and celerity during the night of the 27th.

* * * * *

The rebels, early in the morning, discovered that some change had been made in our position, but were unable to make out its character, and immediately commenced demonstrations on our right. Indeed, there is reason to believe they thought that wing had been weakened rather than strengthened, and Hood thought to take advantage of it. He believed himself able to flank Sherman and make him abandon the works he could not

force after two terrible battles, and with that view he massed his troops, as already indicated; and his dispositions evince that he possesses no mean order of military talent. Had his designs succeeded, he would have so interrupted Sherman's communications that that commander would have been compelled to give battle at a disadvantage, and on Hood's own terms.

The skirmishing commenced early in the morning, but several hours were consumed in the preliminaries. Loring's corps was on the left, and it was to it that the chief flanking movements were assigned; while nearly all the remainder of the rebel army were massed directly in front of Logan. A few brigades extended farther to the right, and confronting Dodge. The reason of Hood's extreme caution was his entire ignorance of the strength of the opposing forces. Was it only a brigade left to protect communications? He doubtless believed so. But when once his army was on the move he was not long in discovering his mistake. The assailants, after driving in our pickets, moved up with a steady step, opening out when within four hundred yards of our fortification. General Hood superintended the movement, and was seen riding up and down the lines encouraging his men, and pointing out the easy victory he anticipated, while his subordinates were equally busy in urging the troops forward. Along our lines they observed a general and his staff moving slowly and halting, as if to confer with every regimental commander; but not a head was seen above the works. For aught the assailants positively knew, they were tenantless, save by the few pickets and skirmishers they had driven in and seen mount over the intrenchments. They, however, suspected, from the frequent pauses of the general in question, that there was a garrison behind the embankments before them, and they were right.

The commander was General Logan. There was a storm of bullets flying around him; he wavered not, but continued his movements down the lines. "Keep your men here," was the order to each regimental commander, "till the rebels are within easy range, then let no shot be thrown away." Meeting no force the assailants took courage, and when within two hundred yards

raised a tremendous yell, and started on the double-quick. But at that instant the signal was given, and every battery double-shotted with canister was let loose, the apparently deserted fortifications were lined with heads, and at every foot a shining musket was aimed at the assailants. I have frequently heard of the murderous fire poured forth from the heights of Bunker Hill, and from behind the cotton bales of New Orleans, but how feeble those when compared with the destroying volley which swept in a single instant hundreds of men into eternity, and laid thousands maimed, many of them for life, on the plains before Atlanta. The human tide which flowed on with apparently irresistible force, now ebbed and rolled back in terror and dismay. They waited for no second fire; another, and the army would have been nearly destroyed; they therefore sought shelter as speedily as possible beyond the range of our guns.

From this time till late in August Logan continued to push forward the lines of the Fifteenth Corps, fighting day and night with the rebels, who opposed their advance at every hill and river. On the 3d and 11th of the month he captured the enemy's fortified outposts, with several hundred prisoners, with small loss to his own command. On the 26th of August, Sherman having determined upon an attempt to flank the city instead of besieging it, Logan was ordered to move again, by the right flank. He struck and tore up the West Point Railroad, in pursuance of Sherman's new tactics against the rebel communications. Marching on to Jonesboro, he drove the Confederates for ten miles, and arrived in front of the place at dark, August 30. Nearly all night the troops were crossing the Flint River, and early in the morning, without the knowledge of either Sherman or Howard, the Fifteenth Corps was strongly intrenched and ready to receive the attack of Lee's and Hardee's corps, who advanced under Anderson with impetuous bravery. It was well that no time had been lost



LOGAN'S FORCES TEARING UP THE RAILROAD AT JONESBORO.



by Logan's corps in getting ready, for the assault was made with great force and determination at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the line advancing to within a hundred feet of the trenches. For over an hour the Confederates persisted in their desperate charge, but they were finally compelled to abandon the attempt, after losing over 2,500 men. The United States troops captured 241 prisoners and two rebel battle flags, while, owing to skillfully arranged defenses, which Logan in person had superintended, their own loss was only 154. Sherman in his report admits that he simply heard the sound of cannon towards Jonesboro, and was told about 4 o'clock that Howard had repulsed a rebel attack.

This battle decided the fate of Atlanta and but for Sherman's and Howard's bad management in not having the other commands up to support the Fifteenth Corps, Hood's entire army would have been bagged, as Grant had taken Pemberton. As it was, however, the rebel army was allowed to escape, and the Army of the Cumberland had to be sent back across all the bloody ground fought over the spring before, to keep Hood from invading Kentucky and Ohio. In his "Memoirs" Sherman says that the rebel army, go where it might, and not Atlanta, Augusta or Savannah, was the objective point; but viewed in the light of the events at the time, it looks very much as though this were really an after-thought. Logan's corps pursued the retreating rebels to Lovejoy's station, where he had them in flank and proposed to attack and capture them yet, but Sherman, sated with the triumph of a deserted city, refused to have Hood pursued farther, and encamped in September for a period of reflection.

The Army of the Tennessee went into camp at East Point, Ga. Soon afterwards General Logan issued a congratulatory address to his troops, in the following terms:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
EAST POINT, GA., Sept. 11, 1864.

Officers and Soldiers of the Fifteenth Army Corps:

You have borne your part in the accomplishment of the object of this campaign—a part well and faithfully done.

On the 1st day of May, 1864, from Huntsville, Ala., and its vicinity, you commenced the march. The marches and labors performed by you during this campaign will hardly find a parallel in the history of war. The proud name heretofore acquired by the Fifteenth Corps for soldierly bearing and daring deeds remains untarnished—its luster undimmed. During the campaign you constituted the main portion of the flanking column of the whole army. Your first move against the enemy was around the right of the army at Resaca, where, by your gallantry, the enemy were driven from the hills and his works on the main road from Vilanow to Resaca. On the retreat of the enemy you moved on the right flank of the army by a circuitous route to Adairsville; in the same manner from there to Kingston and Dallas, where, on the 28th day of May, you met the veteran corps of Hardee, and in a severe and bloody contest you hurled him back, killing and wounding over two thousand, besides capturing a large number of prisoners. You then moved around to the left of the army, by way of Acworth, to Kenesaw Mountain, where again you met the enemy, driving him from three lines of works, capturing over three hundred prisoners. During your stay in front of Kenesaw Mountain, on the 27th of June, you made one of the most daring, bold, and heroic charges of the war, against the almost impregnable position of the enemy on Little Kenesaw. You were then moved, by way of Marietta, to Nickajack Creek, on the right of the army; thence back to the extreme left by way of Marietta and Roswell, to the Augusta Railroad, near Stone Mountain, a distance of fifty miles, and after effectually destroying the railroad at this point, you moved by way of Decatur to the immediate front of the rebel stronghold, Atlanta. Here, on the 23d day of July, you again performed your duty nobly, “as patriots and soldiers,” in one of the most severe and sanguinary conflicts of the campaign. With hardly time to recover your al-

most exhausted energies, you were moved again around to the right of the army, only to encounter the same troops against whom you had so recently contended, and the battle of the 28th of July, at Ezra Chapel, will long be remembered by the officers and soldiers of this command. On that day it was the Fifteenth Corps that, almost unaided and alone, for four hours contested the field against the corps of Hardee and Lee. You drove them discomfited from the field, causing them to leave their dead and many of their wounded in your hands. The many noble and gallant deeds performed by you on that day will be remembered among the proudest acts of our nation's history. After pressing the enemy closely for several days, you again moved to the right of the army, to the West Point Railroad, near Fairburn. After completely destroying the road for some distance, you marched to Jonesboro, driving the enemy before you from Pond Creek, a distance of ten miles. At this point you again met the enemy, composed of Lee's and Hardee's corps, on the 31st of August, and punished them severely, driving them in confusion from the field, with their dead and many wounded and prisoners left in your hands. Here again by your skill and true courage you kept sacred the reputation you have so long maintained, viz.: "The Fifteenth corps never meets the enemy but to strike and defeat him." On the 1st of September the Fourteenth Corps attacked Hardee; you at once opened fire on him, and by your co-operation his defeat became a rout. Hood, hearing the news, blew up his ammunition trains, retreated, and Atlanta was ours.

You have marched during the campaign, in your windings, the distance of four hundred miles, have put *hors de combat* more of the enemy than your corps numbers, have captured twelve stands of colors, 2,450 prisoners, and 210 deserters.

The course of your march is marked by the graves of patriotic heroes who have fallen by your side; but at the same time it is more plainly marked by the blood of traitors who have defied the Constitution and laws, insulted and trampled under foot the glorious flag of our country.

We deeply sympathize with the friends of those of our comrades in arms who have fallen; our sorrows are only appeased by

the knowledge that they fell as brave men, battling for the preservation and perpetuation of one of the best governments of earth. "Peace be to their ashes."

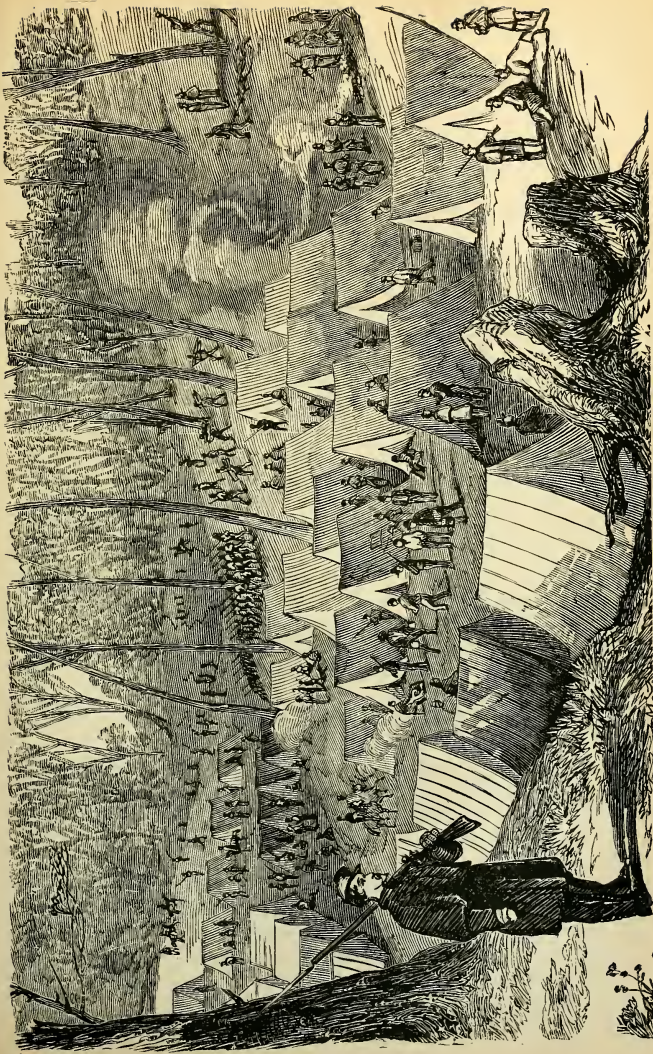
You now rest for a short time from your labors. During the respite prepare for future action. Let your country see at all times by your conduct that you love the cause you have espoused; that you have no sympathy with any who would by word or deed assist vile traitors in dismembering our mighty Republic or trailing in the dust the emblem of our national greatness and glory. You are the defenders of a government that has blessed you heretofore with peace, happiness, and prosperity. Its perpetuity depends upon your heroism, faithfulness, and devotion.

When the time shall come to go forward again, let us go with the determination to save our nation from threatened wreck and hopeless ruin, not forgetting the appeal from widows and orphans that is borne to us upon every breeze to avenge the loss of their loved ones who have fallen in defense of their country. Be patient, obedient, and earnest; and the day is not far distant when you can return to your homes with the proud consolation that you have assisted in causing the old banner to again wave from every mountain's top and over every town and hamlet of our once happy land, and hear the shouts of triumph ascend from a grateful people, proclaiming that once more we have one flag and one country.

JOHN A. LOGAN,
Major-General Commanding.

A writer in *The National Tribune* of Washington, D. C., in a recent issue tells an affecting story of an incident of Logan's march around Atlanta which is well worth a more lasting place in literature than the columns of the current press. The story is as follows:

It was the summer of 1864, and the army under Sherman had fallen back from its position before Atlanta and swept around to Hood's rear, General Logan leading the advance. I



THE CAMP AT EAST POINT, GA.

remember that the country was densely wooded, and that magnificent forests of pine, oak, and chestnut towered on either side of the road over which we marched. We were not molested until we neared Flint River. There the enemy had planted a masked battery, and, as we approached, it enfiladed our line. You could scarce encounter more disagreeable travelers on a lonely road than shot and shell, and the boys were not long in taking to the shelter of the timber. But General Logan at once ordered up a field battery of brass "Napoleons," and presently accepted this challenge to an artillery duel. There was nothing to direct the fire of our gunners save the white puffs of smoke that could be seen rising above the foliage, and the course of the enemy's shots, but they nevertheless soon silenced the rebel cannon, and once more cleared the way for the column.

We then rode forward again, the writer in company with Dr. Woodworth, the medical inspector of General Logan's staff, and until his death, some four years ago, the head of the Marine Hospital Service. Just as we turned a bend in the road we emerged suddenly into a small clearing. A rude log cabin, surrounded by evergreen shrubbery, stood in the clearing, and hanging from one of the bushes we noticed a yellow cloth.

As medical officers, it naturally occurred to us at once that this was an improvised hospital of some sort, and we rode up to inquire. At the door of the cabin, as we approached, an old woman, evidently of the familiar "cracker" type, presented herself, but, on seeing that we were "Yankees," beat a hasty retreat. But we were not disposed to be so easily baffled, and calling her out again, began to ply her with questions.

She told us "there wa'n't no wounded men thar," and when asked why she had put out a yellow flag there, she replied: "Waal, ye see, my gal is sick, and I reckoned ef I put out that yer hosp't'l rag you'ns wouldn't be pesterin' round so much."

"What's the matter with your child?" said I; "we are medical officers, and perhaps we can do something for her."

"Waal, now," she quickly responded, "ef you'ns is real doctors, just look in and see what you'ns all done with your shellin'.

Time my gal was sickest, two of yourn shells come clar through my cabin, and, I tell you, it was right skeery for a spell."

We accepted the old woman's invitation and walked in. It was as she said. The cabin, built of rough pine logs, afforded but one room, about twelve feet square. A small log meat-house (empty) was the only outbuilding,—the cow-stable having been knocked to pieces by our shells,—except a small bark-thatched "lean-to" at the rear, in which we found a loom of the most primitive sort and constructed in the roughest fashion, containing a partially completed web of coarse-cotton "homespun." Aside from this loom, the only household articles visible were an old skillet, a rather dilapidated bed, two or three chairs without backs, and a queer collection of gourds. The shells had indeed played havoc with the interior. The roof had been sadly shattered, and a stray shot had pierced the walls.

It had cut one of the logs entirely in two, and forced one jagged end out into the room so far that it hung threateningly over the bed, upon which, to our astonishment, we saw lying a young girl, by whose side was a new-born babe with the prints of the Creator's fingers fresh upon it. It was a strange yet touching spectacle. Here, in this lonely cabin, stripped by lawless stragglers of both armies of food and clothing, and shattered by the flying shells of our artillery, in the storm and fury of the battle had been born this sweet innocent. The mother, we learned, was the wife of a Confederate soldier whose blood had stained the "sacred soil" of Virginia but a few months after his marriage and conscription into the service, and the child was fatherless. The babe was still clad only in its own innocence, but the writer with his handy jack-knife cut from the unfinished web in the old loom a piece of coarse homespun, in which it was soon deftly swaddled. Fortunately we had our hospital knapsacks with us, and our orderlies carried a little brandy, with a few medicines and a can of beef-extract, and we at once did all that our limited stores permitted to relieve the wants of the young mother and child.

But by this time quite a number of officers and men, attracted by the sight of the yellow flag and our horses waiting at the

door, had gathered about the cabin, and, while we were inside, they amused themselves by listening to the old lady's account of this stirring incident. One of the officers had given her some "store terbacker," with which she had filled a cob-pipe, and the fact that she was spitting through her teeth with such accuracy as to hit a fly at ten paces nine times out of ten, showed that she was enjoying herself after the true "cracker" style. Presently some one suggested that the baby ought to be christened with full military honors, and it being duly explained to her that to "christen" was all the same as to "baptize," she replied with alacrity, "Oh, yes! baptized, I reckon, if you'ns has got any preacher along."

This was all the boys wanted, and an orderly was at once sent back to the general commanding, with the compliments of the surgeon and a request that a chaplain belonging to one of the regiments in the advance brigade might be allowed to return with the messenger to the cabin.

The general asked the orderly for what purpose a chaplain was wanted, and the orderly replied that the doctors (mentioning our names) were going to have a baptism.

Upon this, General Logan (for he it was) significantly remarked that the names mentioned were in themselves sufficient to satisfy him that some deviltry was on hand, but that, nevertheless, the chaplain might go. Then, inviting the colonel, who happened to be riding with him at the time, he set out himself for the scene, spurring "Old John" to a gallop, and soon had joined the party at the cabin.

"General," said the doctor, as the former dismounted, "you are just the man we're after."

"For what?"

"For a godfather," replied the doctor.

"Godfather to what?" demanded the General.

The matter was explained to him, and as the doctor led the way into the house, the boys who had gathered around the General in the expectation that the event would furnish an occasion for a display of his characteristic humor, noticed there was something in "Black Jack's" face that they were not wont to see there,

and that in his eyes there was a certain humid tenderness far different from their usual flashing brightness. He stood for a moment silent, gazing at the unhappy mother and fatherless child, and their pitiful surroundings, and then turning to those about him said tersely:

“That looks —— rough.”

Then glancing around at the ruins wrought by our shells, and addressing the men in the cabin, he called out, “I say boys, can’t you straighten this up a little? Fix up that roof. There are plenty of ‘stakes’ around that old stable—and push back that log into place, and help the old lady to clear out the litter, and—I don’t think it would hurt you any to leave a part of your rations!”

Prompt to heed the suggestion, the boys leaned their muskets against the logs, and, while some of them cut brush, others swept up the splinters and pine knots that the shot and shell had strewn over the floor, and not one of them forgot to go to the corner of the cabin and empty his haversack! It made a pile of commissary stores, consisting of meat, coffee, sugar, hard-tack, and chickens (probably foraged from her next-door neighbor) surpassing any that this poor “cracker” woman had probably ever seen or possessed at one time.

This done, the next thing in order was the christening, and the chaplain now came forward to perform his sacred office.

“What are you going to give her for a name? I want suthin right peart, now,” said grandmother.

She was told that the name should be satisfactory, and forthwith she brought out the baptismal bowl—which on this occasion consisted of a gourd—full of water fresh from the spring.

General Logan now took the baby, wrapped in its swaddling-clothes of coarse homespun, and held it while the chaplain went through with the ceremony. The latter was brief and characterized with due solemnity, the spectators behaving with becoming reverence, and thus the battle-born babe was christened “Shell-Anna.” I like to think that, as the chaplain’s prayers were winging their way to heaven, the gory goddess who nurses a gorgon at her breast stayed her red hand awhile!



THE ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA.

The party now turned to leave the cabin and resume the march, when General Logan, taking a gold coin from his pocket, —a coin that he had carried as a pocket-piece for many a day,—presented it to the old lady as a “christening gift” for his god-child, and the officers and men, as they had recently drawn their pay, added one by one, a “greenback,” until the sum was swelled to an amount greater than this brave-hearted “cracker” had ever handled. Before parting the General cautioned her to put the money in a safe place, lest some “——bummer should steal it in spite of everything,” and then, ordering a guard to be kept over her cabin until the last straggler had passed by, he rode away. The old lady’s good-by was, “Waal! them thar Yanks is the beateenist critters I ever seen!”

Ten days or so after this occurrence, the cabin being by that time within the enemy’s lines, the General, accompanied by the writer and ten of his escort, rode back eight miles to see how our protegee was getting on, and found both mother and child, in the language of grandma, “quite peart.” Whether General Logan’s god-daughter is still alive or not I do not know, but five years after that visit word reached me that she then was. Certainly no one who witnessed that scene will ever forget the big-hearted soldier as he stood sponsor—grim, yet gentle—for that poor little battle-born babe of Flint River. It all came back to me, the other night, as I walked past the front steps of the General’s Washington house and saw a squad of little urchins climbing about his knee.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE CAROLINAS.

Logan called North by Lincoln for the political campaign.—Joins Grant at City Point.—Ordered to supersede Thomas in command of the Army of the Cumberland.—Asks Grant to excuse him from this duty, and to be sent back to his own corps.—The terrible march through the Carolinas.—Crosses the Salkahatchie and North Edisto.—The Congaree, Saluda, and Broad crossed, with Hampton's troopers in front.—Columbia occupied.—Fighting fire.—The bottomless Lynch Creek passed.—On to Fayetteville.—Building corduroy roads.—Over the South River and on to Goldsboro.—Marching to the sound of the guns.—Joins the left wing at Bentonville Cross Roads.—At Goldsboro.—At Raleigh.—Logan saves the city.—Organization of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee.—Again in command of the army.—The grand review.—Resigns his commission.—Farewell address to his soldiers.

WHEN General Sherman decided to rest upon his laurels for awhile and not pursue active operations further at that time, General Logan yielded to the earnest solicitations of Mr. Lincoln to come North and take the stump before the fall elections. He was received by the people of the North with unbounded enthusiasm wherever he appeared, and his speeches furnished the rallying cry for the Union party. He spoke chiefly in Illinois and Indiana. He advocated using any and all means to put down the rebellion, and to support the administration of Abraham Lincoln.

The war President met with opposition from two classes of people. There were many who, in 1864, tired of the war, thought that Mr. Lincoln had been too lenient with secession at the outset; that he had been inclined to temporize with the rebel leaders; and that, instead of calling for 75,000 troops,

he should have summoned at once a half million volunteers, and proceeded to crush the insurrection in the bud. There was another class of men who were active rebel sympathizers, and opposed Mr. Lincoln's re-election because he was the candidate of the war party. They believed the war a failure because they wished it to be so, and were willing to make peace upon any terms that would suit the oligarchy of the South. In fact, there was such a considerable opposition to Mr. Lincoln in the North during this campaign, that had not the majority of the voters of the Democratic party of the country been in the rank and file of the rebel army at that time, he would not have carried the National election.

At the conclusion of his brilliant campaign on the stump that fall, General Logan found his corps cut off from communication with the North, in common with the rest of Sherman's army, which had started on the march to Savannah. He, therefore, reported for duty at Washington, and thence went to City Point, Virginia, where General Grant had his headquarters.

At this time occurred a passage in General Logan's career which should be written in letters of gold, when the memory of generations, with their deeds, shall have passed into oblivion. It was an act of magnanimity which, in a day of jealousies and schemes among rival officers for preferment, stands out as the shining exception to the course of our ambitious leaders.

Sherman's failure to bag Hood's army at Atlanta, as has been seen, necessitated the movement of the Army of the Cumberland, under General Thomas, and the battles of Franklin and Nashville. It will be remembered that great dissatisfaction was felt at Washington with Thomas because he did not whip his Confederate adversary, and repulse the threatened demonstration towards the north. The country

was clamoring for something to be done by the Army of the Cumberland, and General Grant shared the universal opinion that Thomas was at fault in pursuing a Fabian policy. General Logan, who was well known in the Army of the Cumberland, from the events of the Atlanta campaign, was ordered by Grant to go at once and assume command of it and carry on the operations against Hood. Logan knew Thomas better than Grant, because they had fought side by side through all the bloody battles from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and he was convinced that the brave commander of the Army of the Cumberland had good reason for not fighting. With the order in his pocket making him commander of the Army of the Cumberland, he began his journey leisurely towards the West.

Witness the conduct of this impetuous officer, who had never known weariness or want of sleep when the enemy was in his front, going slowly towards his new post, as if in no hurry to reap the great honor which lay within his grasp. He was not, like Howard, willing to accept a promotion won by another man. Arriving at Louisville, the battle of Nashville had begun, giving him the justification for which he had hoped, for declining to supersede General Thomas. He immediately telegraphed to General Grant suggesting that Thomas was doing all that was necessary, and should not be removed in the face of an enemy, but, on the contrary, deserved the highest honor for his generalship. He asked for himself that he be allowed to return to his own command, the Fifteenth Corps.

But for this magnanimous action he might have lived in history as the hero of the battle of Nashville, adding another star to the galaxy of his victories, while the position of Thomas in the annals of the war would have remained equivocal. For no act of his life does General Logan deserve more honor than



LOGAN'S CORPS ATTACKING THE REBEL POSITION AT BENTON'S CROSS-ROADS.

for this self-denial, in the face of a temptation which would have proved too much for many a man whom the world has called great.

In the meantime his corps had reached Savannah, where he repaired, and resumed his place as its commander.

In January, 1865, the perilous winter campaign through the Carolinas was begun. For difficulties encountered and overcome, for trials and deprivations, as the Army of the Tennessee struggled on through the barren region from Savannah to Columbia, Fayetteville, Goldsboro and Raleigh, this march has never been surpassed in the history of war. Through all these movements Logan's corps led the advance. In its achievements this campaign was more important than the march "from Atlanta to the sea," while its physical difficulties were far greater. Hundreds of soldiers actually died from fatigue and starvation. Swollen streams were crossed where bridges were wanting. A wilderness of swamps and deep morasses was threaded in the face of an ever-watchful enemy, and all the while gaunt famine was wearing away the strength and sapping the courage of those weary veterans.

The Little Salkahatchie River was reached by the Fifteenth Corps on the 5th of February, and the enemy was found entrenched upon its opposite bank. They did not stop, however, but charging through its muddy current, they drove out the rebels and advanced along the railroad, which they tore up and burned. On the 12th, the North Edisto was crossed, the enemy, constantly in front, contesting the advance of the United States troops. Here Logan captured 80 prisoners and 200 stand of arms.

Proceeding toward Columbia, the passage of the Congaree Creek was forced on the 15th by fighting Wade Hampton's dismounted cavalry, and at the same time he made a demonstration on the Great Congaree. The enemy's position was

turned, and Hampton was driven back, not having time to succeed in burning the bridge, which he left in flames, however, to be extinguished by Logan's soldiers, who saved the structure and went into camp for the night. But they had little sleep, because the air was filled with rebel shells. The Saluda and Broad rivers were passed on the 17th, and General Stone's brigade occupied the city of Columbia.

Before leaving the city Wade Hampton's men had set fire to a lot of cotton, from which the flames spread, and that night the destruction of the city of Columbia was threatened. Two brigades of Logan's corps, then in the city, turned out to fight the flames, but being insufficient to avert a conflagration, he sent up more troops, and by superhuman exertions they saved a portion of it from destruction.

Two days were spent by Logan's command in the destruction of public stores which the Confederates had left in Columbia, and in organizing the trains for people who desired to go north.

In the Lynch Creek bottom a difficulty was met which would have balked the genius of any commander or of any army which had not learned, like Logan and his men, to set difficulties at naught and depend upon their own resources in every emergency. The bottom was a sheet of mud and water, through which a bridgeless torrent flowed, where horses and mules were useless, and the soldiers, by means of ropes, were obliged to drag the wagons and artillery with their own hands. General Logan was with his troops, guiding and directing their efforts in person, in the midst of a pitiless storm of rain and wind, which chilled to the bone and paralyzed the energies of men whose only sustenance was raw corn, eaten from the cob. For days there was no place to make a fire nor fuel that would burn to boil even a cup of coffee; but those veterans, imbued with the unconquerable spirit which had led them from

Donelson to Vicksburg and Atlanta, overcame every difficulty and forced their way through every impediment.

March 5th and 6th the Great Pedee was crossed, and passing the Lumber River, the advance upon Fayetteville was made. It rained continuously, and the labors of the advance were increased by the necessity for building corduroy roads for the passage of the artillery and trains. The whole corps worked all day and night of the 9th in making roads and crossing to solid ground, which was reached on the 10th. They arrived at the bank of Cape Fear River on the 15th, and on the 17th South River, a deep and apparently impassable stream, lay across their course. Again the soldiers were obliged to go to work and make a road across the bottoms before trains could proceed. This difficulty surmounted, the Neuse, near Goldsboro, presented another obstacle, which was increased by the cloud of hostile cavalry which hung upon their flanks and front.

Marching to the sound of the guns where the left wing was fighting Johnston, Logan pushed along the Bentonville road, driving the enemy at every step. At Mill Creek they were found intrenched in one position after another, from which they were successively driven. Having gained the cross-roads to Bentonville and Smithfield, Logan went into position and intrenched in front of the enemy's main line. He had now formed a junction with the other wing of the army, and on the 21st his corps again advanced upon the enemy, driving him along his entire front. Stopping to intrench, the batteries played that day and night incessantly upon the rebel works. The next morning Johnston was found to have withdrawn from his position and retreated across the creek, burning the bridge behind him. Going on again, in the face of every barrier which the hostile elements and the genius of Johnston could throw across their path, they reached Goldsboro on the 23d. Here they went into camp.

While in this position—Petersburg having fallen, followed by the evacuation of Richmond—the Army of the Tennessee again broke camp, and Logan's corps advanced on the right towards Smithfield and Raleigh. The army waited at Raleigh while Sherman was conducting those negotiations with Johnston which ended with little credit to the former, and were disapproved by his superiors. It is not the province of this work, however, to enter into a discussion of this matter.

In the meantime General Logan conceived the idea of forming a Society of the Army of the Tennessee, for the purpose of keeping alive and perpetuating the relationship which had been born of their superhuman struggles, their privations together, and their brilliant achievements. A meeting for this purpose was held in the Capitol at Raleigh, where Logan was urged to accept the presidency of the society. He declined the distinction, however, and suggested the propriety of the selection of General John A. Rawlins, General Grant's chief-of-staff, as the latter was in every way worthy, and it would be a compliment to the commander-in-chief.

While at Raleigh the news of the assassination of President Lincoln reached the army. The blow was greater than they could bear with resignation, and the instincts of retaliation were aroused. That the cities of the South were not laid waste will ever stand as a lasting monument to the moderation of civilization. Threats of violence were loud and deep, and in spite of the precautions taken by the officers, a body of stragglers escaped from camp in the night and rushed madly towards the city, torch in hand. Word was brought to the panic-stricken inhabitants, and conscious that only a miracle could save them, they turned to flee. A spirit mighty enough was there, however, to avert the impending calamity. Logan, mounting his war horse, whose black coat had so often appeared to those soldiers out of the cloud of battle, dashed down the



THE TURNPIKE LEADING TO GOULDSBORO.



MAKING ROADS THROUGH NORTH CAROLINA.



road to meet the enraged mob. Drawing his naked sword, he commanded them to halt on pain of death to the first man who should advance another step. Those veterans recognized the voice they had never disobeyed, and allowed themselves to be led back in tears to camp. The City of Raleigh was saved.

When the capitulation of Johnston had been arranged in a manner satisfactory to General Grant, Logan marched with his corps, by the way of Fredericksburg and Alexandria to Washington. General Howard having been placed in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau on the 12th of May, General Logan was again given command of that splendid organization of veterans, the Army of the Tennessee. At its head, on the 24th of May, he led the grand review before the President of the United States, at Washington, and rode down Pennsylvania Avenue, the central figure of the greatest military pageant ever seen on the Western Continent.

Being ordered to Louisville, he mustered out his troops, and resigning his commission, to enter the ranks of his fellows as a private citizen again, it was his privilege, at last, to issue the farewell address to the Army of the Tennessee. This memorable document, which deserves to live in the imperishable archives of the United States, ran as follows :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE,
LOUISVILLE, KY., July 13, 1865.

Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee :

The profound gratification I feel in being authorized to release you from the onerous obligations of the camp, and return you, laden with laurels, to homes where warm hearts wait to welcome you, is somewhat embittered by the painful reflection that I am sundering the ties that trials have made true, time made tender, suffering made sacred, perils made proud, heroism made honorable, and fame made forever fearless of the future. It is no common occasion that demands the disbandment of a military

organization, before the resistless power of which mountains bristling with bayonets have bowed, cities have surrendered, and millions of brave men been conquered. Although I have been but a short period your commander, we are not strangers; affections have sprung up between us during the long years of doubt, gloom, and carnage which we have passed through together, nurtured by common perils, sufferings, and sacrifices, and riveted by the memories of gallant comrades whose bones repose beneath the sod of an hundred battle-fields, which neither time nor distance will weaken or efface. The many marches you have made, the dangers you have despised, the haughtiness you have humbled, the duties you have discharged, the glory you have gained, the destiny you have discovered for the country, in whose cause you have conquered, all recur at this moment, in all the vividness that marked the scenes through which we have just passed. From the pens of the ablest historians of the land daily are drifting out upon the current of time, page upon page, volume upon volume, of your heroic deeds, which, floating down to future generations, will inspire the student of history with admiration, the patriot American with veneration for his ancestors, and the lover of Republican liberty with gratitude to those who in a fresh baptism of blood reconsecrated the powers and energies of the Republic to the cause of constitutional freedom. Long may it be the happy fortune of each and every one of you to live in the full fruition of the boundless blessings you have secured to the human race! Only he whose heart has been thrilled with admiration for your impetuous and unyielding valor in the thickest of the fight can appreciate with what pride I recount the brilliant achievements which immortalize you, and enrich the pages of our national history. Passing by the earlier but not less signal triumphs of the war, in which most of you participated and inscribed upon your banners such victories as Donelson and Shiloh, I recur to campaigns, sieges, and victories that challenge the admiration of the world, and elicit the unwilling applause of all Europe. Turning your backs upon the blood-bathed heights of Vicksburg, you launched into a region swarming with enemies, fighting your way and marching, without adequate supplies, to

answer the cry for succor that came to you from the noble but beleaguered army of Chattanooga. Your steel next flashed among the mountains of Tennessee, and your weary limbs found rest before the embattled heights of Missionary Ridge, and there with dauntless courage you breasted again the enemy's destructive fire, and shared with your comrades of the Army of the Cumberland the glories of a victory than which no soldier can boast a prouder.

In that unexampled campaign of vigilant and vigorous warfare from Chattanooga to Atlanta you freshened your laurels at Resaca, grappling with the enemy behind his works, hurling him back dismayed and broken. Pursuing him from thence, marking your path by the graves of fallen comrades, you again triumphed over superior numbers at Dallas, fighting your way from there to Kenesaw Mountain; and under the murderous artillery that frowned from its rugged heights, with a tenacity and constancy that finds few parallels, you labored, fought, and suffered through the boiling rays of a southern midsummer sun, until at last you planted your colors upon its topmost heights. Again, on the 22d of July, 1864, rendered memorable through all time for the terrible struggle you so heroically maintained under discouraging disasters, and that saddest of all reflections, the loss of that exemplary soldier and popular leader, the lamented McPherson, your matchless courage turned defeat into a glorious victory. Ezra Chapel and Jonesboro added new luster to a radiant record, the latter unbarring to you the proud Gate City of the South. The daring of a desperate foe in thrusting his legions northward, exposed the country in your front, and though rivers, swamps, and enemies opposed, you boldly surmounted every obstacle, beat down all opposition, and marched onward to the sea. Without any act to dim the brightness of your historic page, the world rang plaudits when your labors and struggles culminated at Savannah, and the old "Starry Banner" waved once more over the walls of one of our proudest cities of the seaboard. Scarce a breathing spell had passed when your colors faded from the coast, and your columns plunged into the swamps of the Carolinas. The sufferings you endured, the labors you performed, and the

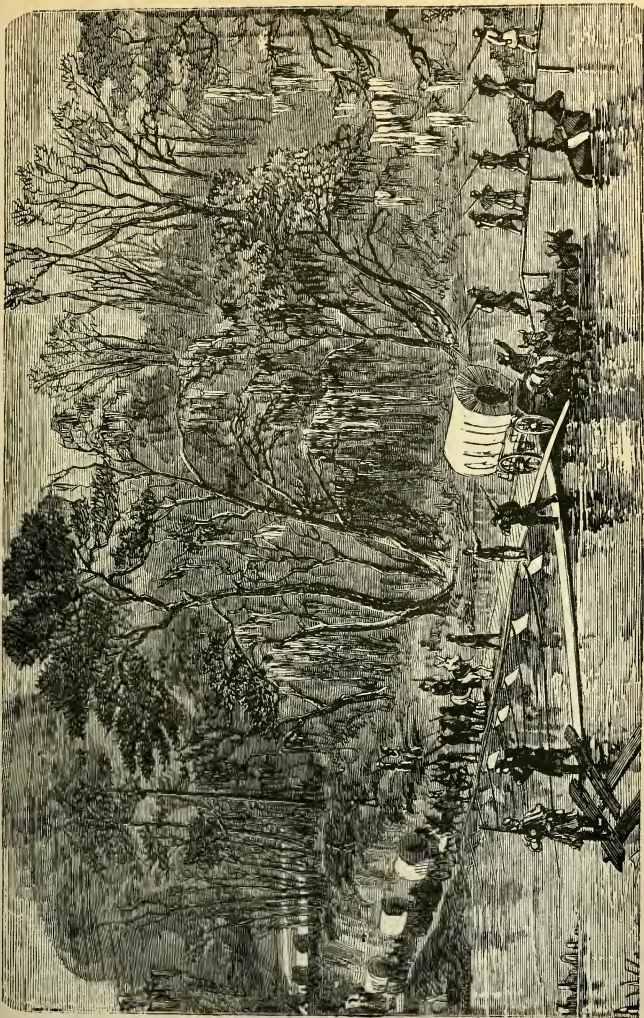
successes you achieved in those morasses, deemed impassable, form a creditable episode in the history of the war. Pocataligo, Salkahatchie, Edisto, Branchville, Orangeburgh, Columbia, Bentonville, Charleston, and Raleigh are names that will ever be suggestive of the resistless sweep of your columns through the territory that cradled and nurtured, and from whence was sent forth on its mission of crime, misery, and blood, the disturbing and disorganizing spirit of secession and rebellion.

The work for which you pledged your brave hearts and brawny arms to the Government of your fathers you have nobly performed. You are seen in the past, gathering through the gloom that enveloped the land, rallying as the guardians of man's proudest heritage, forgetting the thread unwoven in the loom, quitting the anvil, and abandoning the workshops, to vindicate the supremacy of the laws and the authority of the Constitution. Four years have you struggled in the bloodiest and most destructive war that ever drenched the earth with human gore ; step by step you have borne our standard, until to-day, over every fortress and arsenal that rebellion wrenched from us, and over city, town, and hamlet, from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean, proudly floats the "Starry emblem" of our national unity and strength.

Your rewards, my comrades, are the welcoming plaudits of a grateful people, the consciousness that, in saving the Republic, you have won for your country renewed respect and power at home and abroad ; that in the unexampled era of growth and prosperity that dawns with peace, there attaches mightier wealth of pride and glory than ever before to that loved boast, "I am an American citizen."

In relinquishing the implements of war for those of peace, let your conduct, which was that of warriors in time of war, be that of peaceful citizens in time of peace. Let not the luster of that brighter name that you have won as soldiers be dimmed by any improper acts as citizens, but as time rolls on let your record grow brighter and brighter still.

JOHN A. LOGAN,
Major-General.



TOULAN'S CROSSING THE NORTH EDRISTO RIVER.



CHAPTER VII.

THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION.

General Logan's rank as a soldier.—His services in civil positions.—The Cooper Institute meeting in 1865.—He gives the Southerners some good advice at Louisville.—Nominated and confirmed as Minister to Mexico, he declines the place.—Declines the Mission to Japan.—Nominated by acclamation for Congressman at Large from Illinois and elected by 60,000 majority.—First Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic.—He institutes the observance of Decoration Day.—Has it made a national holiday.—A Manager for the House at the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson.—His argument at the trial.—Appeal for the Veterans of the War of 1812.—Renominated for Congress.—A delegate to the Republican Convention in 1868.—Nominates General Grant for the Presidency.—Takes the stump.—Explains his position on financial questions in a speech at Morris, Ill.—Arraigns the rebel brigadiers.—Defeats the "Jenckes Tenure of office Bill."—Calls a halt to railroad subsidies.—His draft of the Fifteenth Amendment agreed to in conference and adopted.—His bill for the reduction of the army.—He dissects General Sherman's letter to Senator Wilson.—Debates on the removal of the Capitol and the readmission of Virginia.—His appeal for Cuban liberty.—Eulogy of General Thomas.—Again renominated for Congress.—Elected United States Senator.

NO officer returned from the war with a greater military reputation in the estimation of the people than General Logan. Among the officers of the regular army it was universally conceded that no volunteer deserved to be ranked above him. For this distinction, made by the graduates of West Point, no explanation has ever been offered. Wherein General Logan manifested less capacity for generalship, less bravery on the field of battle, less judgment in the disposition of the forces at his command, or less alacrity in the per-

formance of duty than any officer of the regular army, has never been pointed out. Why, therefore, they should say he was the greatest of the volunteers, remains to be answered. The writer believes that history, dealing with men and their achievements, independent of the origin of their commissions, or fortuity of promotion, will place his military genius on a par with that of the greatest commanders of the age. He will be ranked as the peer of Von Moltke and Grant, and in those qualities that contribute to success in war, he will be placed above Sherman, Thomas, McPherson, or any of his contemporaries of the Western Army.

In unison with the spirit which actuated the volunteers who sprang to arms for the suppression of the insurrection of the States, he resumed at once his avocation and prepared to pick up the broken threads of his practice at the bar. He was too strong a man, however, for the people to allow to escape unnoticed in the ordinary walks of life, and ere long was again summoned to his place of prominence in civil office which the breaking out of the war had cut short in 1861.

Our histories are chiefly filled with the chronicles of wars, and while distinction in civil pursuits is no less difficult of attainment, it attracts less attention among the masses, and is sooner forgotten. The greatest of politicians enjoy comparatively little renown for their labors. Their contemporaries in turn laud and execrate them; the next generation dissects them; the next venerates them, and the next forgets them. The school-boy of to-day, as a rule, knows something of Bonaparte, but next to nothing of Talleyrand; he is familiar with the battles of Washington, Knox, and Wayne, but, probably, can scarcely recall a name in the list of illustrious men who formulated, discussed, and adopted the Constitution. While General Logan will be remembered therefore chiefly for his military career, he in fact is one of

the few men in this country who has merited distinction in both branches of public service. His faculty for both generalship and statecraft is much like that of Gustavus Adolphus, who was a leader by instinct in politics, as well as in war. His success in civil office has been in happy contrast with that of many a great general. The "Iron Duke," for example, after settling the destinies of Europe on the field, returned to a life of bitter reverses as a member of the civil government, and to the day of his death had metallic shutters at his windows to protect his house from the stones of the angry populace.

In obedience to the summons, General Logan accepted the duties devolving upon him, and scarcely a measure of national importance has been adopted by Congress during the past eighteen years, in the shaping of which his influence has not been felt. He has been an active worker upon prominent committees, and although not heard so frequently upon the floor as many others, he has accomplished much. In the House, he was on the Committee of Ways and Means and the Joint Committee on Ordnance, from March, 1867, to March, 1869, and from that time, up to 1871, on the Committee on Pacific Railroads, as well as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. When advanced to the Senate, he served on the Committees on Public Lands, Privileges and Elections, Mines and Mining, Pensions, Military and Militia, of which latter committee he has for some years been chairman. In addition to these positions, he was upon various select committees during his first term as Senator, besides serving during the year 1876-7 on the Finance Committee and the Select Committee on the Count of the Electoral Vote. From December, 1879, to March, 1881, he served on the Committees on Territories, Indian Affairs, Privileges and Elections, Military Affairs, and the Select Committee to Examine the Several

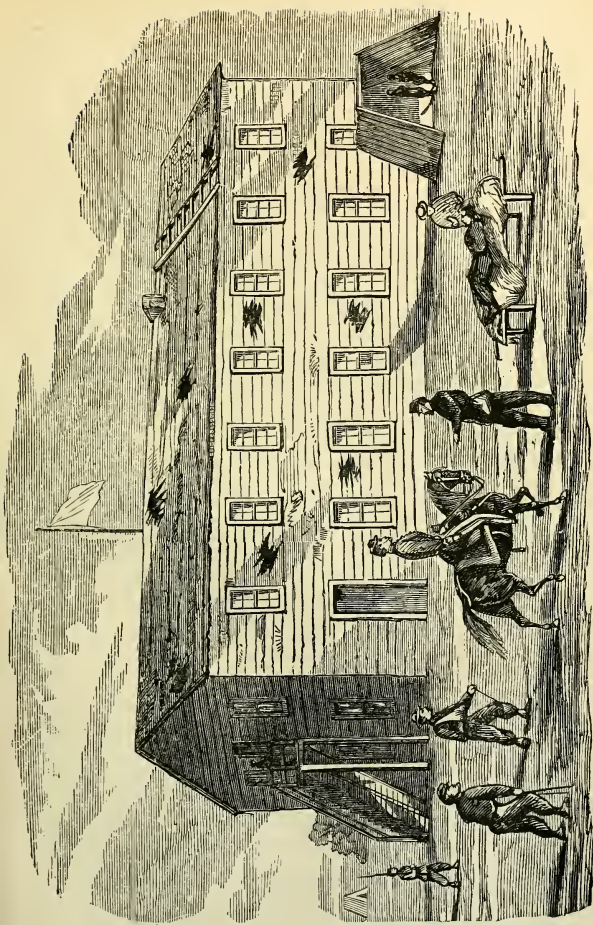
Branches of the Civil Service. From the reorganization of the Senate in 1881, he has served as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, as well as second upon the Judiciary Committee, much of the time acting as chairman, on the Committee on Appropriations, and the select committees to Examine the Condition of the Sioux, and on the Improvement of the Mississippi River.

To resume our narrative : At the great meeting at Cooper Institute in June, 1865, which was intended as an ovation to capture the prominent Union generals who had been Democrats prior to the rebellion, and enlist their services to aid in the rehabilitation of the Democratic party in power in the affairs of the nation, General Logan was called upon to make a speech, being received with a long-continued storm of applause. That speech is worthy of a place in any record of his life, but the narrow scope of this work forbids its reproduction entire. A few paragraphs will show its tenor. He said :

The great questions that have been before the people for the last four years are now settled ; the rebellion is suppressed ; slavery is forever dead ; the power of this great Government has been felt and is well understood, not only at home, but abroad ; the supremacy of the laws of the country, with its Constitution, has been maintained by the prowess of Americans ; the people of America have satisfied themselves—for there was once some doubt of it—that they can maintain the laws and the Constitution of the land, suppress rebellion, and cause all men to bow in humble submission to the constituted authorities.

Alluding to the object of the meeting further on, he continued :

My friend General Blair suggested an idea to me on this subject [the object of the meeting], that this meeting was called for the purpose of approving the administration of President Johnson. [“Yes,” “Yes,” and cheers.] So far as his administration



THE HOSPITAL AT VICKSBURG.



has developed itself, I certainly have no fault to find with it. ["Good," "Good."] What there may be to object to in the future I don't know ; but if there is anything objectionable, then, as a matter of course, as the questions arise the country will have a right to decide for itself whether the President is in the right or in the wrong.

After discussing those foreign affairs, then uppermost in the public mind, and advising the demand of an indemnity from England on account of the depredations of the rebel privateers, and the expulsion of Maximilian from Mexico, he recurred to the agitation for national repudiation, and said :

Let us then, when our country is restored, when the Union once again is seen rising before us in all its majesty and beauty—let us look upon it with pride, and remember with gratitude that in the hour of trial we found a strong arm—the arm of the people—ready to strike in its defense and to take it from the grasp of the foul traitors who were clutching at its vitals, and to guard and preserve it forever. And as we thus look gratefully and proudly back upon our deliverance, let us at the same time lay our hands upon our hearts and say, " Our nation has not only maintained itself, it not only dazzles the world with its majesty and power, but at the same time it can boast that its record is spotless; that it has not only shown itself willing to fight in war for success, and ready to demand of other nations that which is proper and right and just ; but at the same time, in order that it may live on always as proudly and grandly as it has lived in the past, it shall act as an honest man does toward his neighbor—it shall pay its citizens, and everybody, every dollar and every cent that it justly owes." [Great cheering.] By doing this, by taking this course, we can always be proud of the name of Americans, and other nations will point to us and say, " That country has a record that no citizen living upon her soil need be ashamed of in any court in the world."

His next important public speech was delivered in July of that year, at Louisville, Ky., where he boldly enunciated some truths to the Southerners which, had they been accepted and

appreciated then, would have hastened that thorough rehabilitation of the Union which Logan hoped to see, but which was not to come until a trying period of turbulence had been passed, testing the statesmanship of those who were directing the affairs of the nation to its uttermost. Said he :

The revolution we have just passed through has shaken from center to circumference the civilized world. The war we have just fought through is without a parallel in the annals of ages. It has developed resources of power that have smitten mankind with mingled admiration and amazement. Superficial observers attribute its origin to a fanatical design to abolish slavery, and claim that this is the one only great result that has been accomplished. It had no such origin. The truth is, it was the bastard bantling of ambition and avarice. Demagogues, aspiring to rise, poured into the ear of credulous cupidity the poison of passion. Capital is proverbially timid. Man is easily persuaded that his estate is in danger. Sectional prejudices were exasperated. Public distrust and private discontent, hand in hand, went stalking abroad at noonday over the land. "The Southern heart" was fired—"fired with unmanly fear and unholy lusts." The Southern mind was "instructed," wickedly instructed, in all the subtle sinfulness of treason. The rest is history.

Among the results accomplished, it is true that the abolition of slavery claims a high rank, but not the highest. The political problem embraced in the proposition asserting man's capacity for self-government was at stake. It involved freedom's fairest fortunes, civil liberty's last lingering hope. If man is not able to govern himself he must wear the chains of slavery that tyrants forge for his limbs, and can never be free; and if the Government of the United States had failed to sustain itself in this very first ordeal through which its stability was called to pass, the glorious orb of civil freedom must have gone down forever in gloom and blood. Propagandism would have received a blow that would have sent it staggering along its winding way for another thousand years over Europe. Legitimacy would have taken a lease for her crowns to her thrones for the same period, and man must

have been left to sleep another long, dark night of slavery and despair.

* * * * *

This Government was fast attaining an altitude of national prosperity that was filling all Europe with alarm. That prosperity was (and still is, thank Heaven) threatening to swallow up the wealth of the world; our growing power held every crown on earth in awe. To have exploded the fundamental principles of philosophy upon which such a government was erected would have been indeed a great triumph for them. But the God of battles has ordered it otherwise. The rebellion has been crushed, the Union has been preserved, and our Government stands to-day on a foundation of public faith against which neither the treachery of treason nor the gates of hell can ever prevail. That great political problem "still lives," and the "Stars and Stripes" still wave—and God grant that they shall ever wave—"o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave," until

" Wrapt in flames the realms of ether glow,
And Heaven's last thunders shake the world below."

* * * * *

The institution of slavery was always a curse of the country where it existed. * * * This peculiar institution prevents public prosperity by multiplying monopolies, discouraging the dissemination of knowledge, fostering indolence and ignorance, degrading the humble, crippling industry, pandering to the pomp of the proud, and crushing under the iron heel of social despotism the aspirations of plebeian ambition. It fills the land with nabobs who must have baronial estates in acres by the thousands to lord it over. The owner of twenty thousand acres of land rarely ever cultivates more than one thousand. Here then are nineteen thousand acres of land lying idle, which, if owned by two hundred industrious freemen who would cultivate it, might be made, to support a population of one thousand people, besides contributing liberally to the public revenue. But owned, as these large estates have been in the South, by men who would neither cultivate nor rent them out, that whole country has been, as it were, under the lock and key of an aristocratic proprietorship which

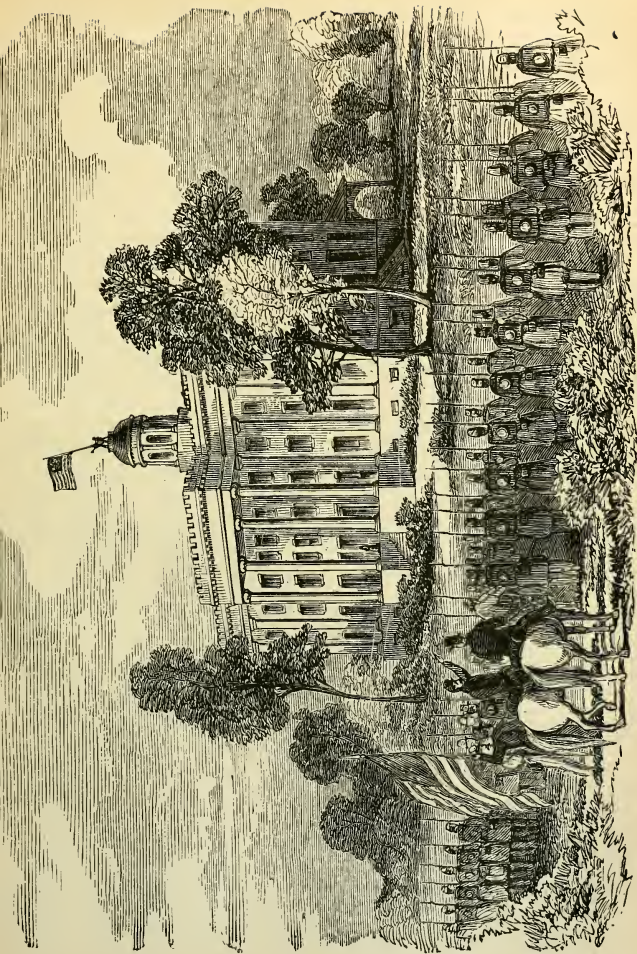
amounted to an insuperable bar to immigration, effectually preventing the increase—at least anything like a rapid increase—of the white population, and naturally stunting the material growth of the State.

With reference to the evil of illiteracy in the South, he said :

We look in vain through the Southern States for public schools. Ignorance sits enthroned where the flowers bloom in mid-winter and waste their fragrance upon the desert air. * * * *
There is but one use to which the State can put children—that is, to educate them. Intelligence is Heaven's rarest gift to earth. It is that attribute which gives men a claim to an affinity with angels ; and that State is false to her most sacred trusts, as well as to her most vital interests, that fails to develop all of her mental resources. Had a wise system of popular education been adopted at the South at the same time it was in the North, that section might not be to-day, as it verily is, without the light of a single great mind to guide it through the dark wilderness of its troubles. Attribute, if you please, the degradation in which is found buried the Southern mind either to a jealousy of education or the selfishness of affluence, and still it is the institution of slavery that causes it. Slaveholders constituted invariably a large majority of their legislative bodies. Having the means to educate their own children, they failed to feel for others, and were unwilling to vote for a measure appropriating the people's money to the education of the poorer classes of society, and the consequence is that in the rural regions of the South the people are frequently found in whole communities totally destitute of the simplest rudiments of an English education.

* * * * *

Why is it that, despite all of these immense advantages, the North has so miraculously outstripped the South in prosperity? Why has New York outstripped Virginia? Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Tennessee? and any of the Western States all of the Southern States? The answer is to be found in the simple fact that whenever and wherever you find slavery you find an insurmountable obstacle to national prosperity.



RAISING THE FLAG AT CORINTH, MISS.

Slavery having once ceased to exist all over the South, her portals thrown open to immigration, and Northern energy infused into the people, it is easy to look into the future and behold a destiny looming up for this bright land that shall make it at least what it must have been designed to be from the first—the garden of the universe.

After services on the stump in the campaign of 1865, he was appointed and confirmed Minister to Mexico, but declined the honor.

In 1866 he was offered the mission to Japan, but again declined to enter the diplomatic service, preferring to remain at home. The same year he was nominated by acclamation by the Republican State Convention of Illinois, as Congressman-at-large, and although he had not sought the honor, he accepted the place and made the canvass, being elected by a majority of nearly 60,000 votes. His name began to be discussed in the public press for the United States Senate, the people of Illinois being anxious for representation at the Capital of the nation by a man whose prominence had now become world-wide.

He at once assumed a place in the front rank in the House of Representatives, and in the discussion upon reconstruction measures, gave vigorous expression to his views, which commanded attention in Congress and with the people.

In July, during the first session of the Fortieth Congress, he delivered a powerful speech on the pending "Supplementary Reconstruction Bill," in which occurred the following passages :

What I am anxious to learn, Mr. Speaker, is upon what foundation rests this flippant and gratuitous charge, repeatedly made against the Republican party on this floor, to the effect that we are trampling liberty under foot, and destroying the rights and privileges of a portion of the American people ?

Wherein have we violated the Constitution? Was it in crushing the rebellion? I have no doubt every Copperhead in the North would say yes. We did carry the emblem of our National glory and greatness from the rivers and the lakes of the West to the bays and the gulfs of the South, where it waves to-day, and will wave forever; but in doing so we innocently thought, hoped, and believed then, and still honestly think, hope, and believe, that we were erecting around the Constitution impregnable bulwarks, and laying for liberty a deeper and a broader foundation in the gratitude, confidence, and affections of our people. We never dreamed that for every rebel we killed in the South we were to make an eternal enemy in the North; and we do think it amounts to a riddle beyond the comprehension of mortal wits, how it is that very many of the brave men who fought us, and whom we had to literally overwhelm before we could conquer, now that they are conquered are much more ready to ask forgiveness, and forget the past and be friends, as we all ought to be again, than are their allies, who, however deep their sympathy with them may have been while the war was raging, took special pains to let the danger pass before they gave it an airing. God forbid that the day shall ever dawn upon this Republic when the patriots whose patriotism won them crutches and wooden limbs shall have apologies and explanations to make for their public-spirited conduct to patriots who boast of and abuse the privilege of eulogizing as their brethren the men whose sabres drank loyal blood and whose bullets shot away loyal limbs.

The next greatest wrong that they have to complain of is, that the men who had the pluck to stand by those who in the field had to fight our country's battles, presumptuously aspire to make our laws. I think thus far these have vindicated their claims to the world's respect alike on the field and in the halls of legislation. What is the basis upon which they fought? Simply that rebellion was a crime. They triumphed. Now upon what basis have they legislated? Simply that rebellion was a crime—and they will triumph again. The people will never require us to fight upon one principle and legislate on

another—to shed our blood on the field, and then come here to make apologies for it to men who wanted us whipped.

* * * * *

When the South can be loyally represented on this floor upon the basis proposed by Congress, the problem of reconstruction will cease to vex the discussions of this hall.

The prime, sole, and supreme object of the Republican party is to re-establish this Government upon a sure foundation of loyalty, against which the frothy waves of treason may fret forever in vain. We have survived one rebellion, and the sage suggestions of past experience warn us that it will be wiser to prevent another rebellion than to too confidently expect to survive it.

* * * * *

The reason why these gentlemen desire to-day to bring into disrepute the action of members of this House is because their action is calculated to prevent a portion of the people of the Southern country, who are in full sympathy with them, from voting and holding office. Who are they? Outspoken rebels, who rose in arms against the Government; the men who conspired to destroy this glorious Republic. Because these men are disfranchised and prevented from exercising the rights of American citizens, gentlemen on the other side object to our proposed plan of reconstruction. Sir, they would have the Southern States reconstructed according to the plan of Andrew Johnson, the gentleman who is so immaculate that if we should attempt to impeach him it will, according to the gentleman from Brooklyn, amount to a public calamity. What was the plan of Andrew Johnson? Why, sir, that plan proposed to declare that those States that had engaged in rebellion had never lost any of their rights in the Government; that neither they nor their citizens had forfeited any of their privileges under the Constitution of the United States. In other words, that treason was not a crime, that rebels were patriots. It proposed to invite the rebels to hold elections, and send to this hall *per se* secessionists and traitors. In short, to construct a new party in reconstructing the Government, in which the

secession rebels of the South might unite with the Copperhead rebels of the North, capture the citadel of power here, make treason honorable and loyalty odious. There is nothing that, to regain its lost power, the Democratic party would not willingly do. If it could acquire to-morrow more power by crushing under its iron heel the South than it could by succoring it, it would hurl at its Southern brethren thick and fast—

“Curses of hate and hisses of scorn.”

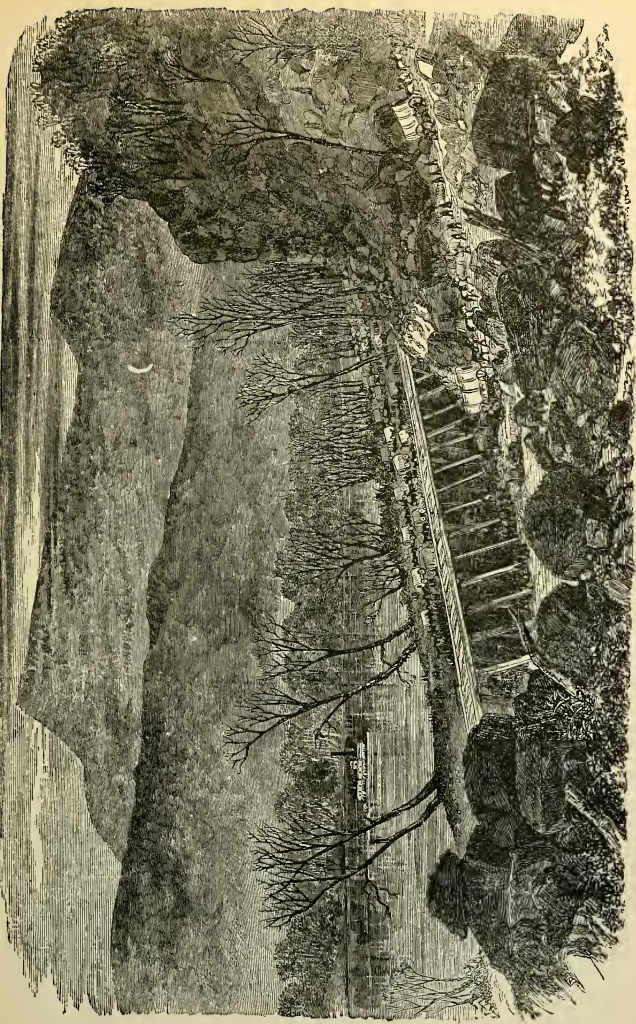
Their history well establishes the fact that—

“Their friendship is a lurking snare,
 Their honor but an idle breath,
 Their smile the smile that traitors wear;
 Their love is hate, their life is death.”

Their sympathy with Andrew Johnson's plan of reconstruction and their hostility to the Republican plan of reconstruction is not attributable to the merits or demerits of either plan as a policy for the country, but solely as a party policy.

* * * * *

They seemed to have forgotten the price the peace we enjoy to-day has cost this Nation, and the crimson currency in which it was paid; the broken hearts with which it filled bruised and troubled bosoms at home; the mangled bodies with which it filled the hospitals everywhere, and the lifeless forms of manly beauty with which it filled hundreds of thousands of nameless graves on the far-off battle-plains of the South. They seem to have forgotten the bitter, scalding tears that rolled like floods of lava down the fair faces of the loyal mothers, wives, and sisters of this land when the names ineffably dear to them were found announced in the long lists of the killed that were published as a sequel to the first flash of the lightning that reported a battle had been fought; and I dare say they have forgotten that there ever was such a prison as Andersonville, and the long, long catalogue of horrors that brave men had to suffer there for being true to themselves, their Constitution, their flag, their homes, families, and country. Well for such gentlemen would it be if they could occasionally meet, as they wander daily over



CHATTANOOGA RAILROAD, NEAR WHITESIDE, TENN.



this broad country, a few of the many wan specters of suffering and woe who were captured by the saintly Southern brethren of Northern Democrats on fields of strife, thrust into prisons unfit for dogs, and starved till a hale constitution was a wreck, and then left to suffer the worst penalties of privation incident to weather and climate. I could give my friend from Brooklyn illustrations of individual suffering at Andersonville that would make the hair stand on his head, the blood freeze in his veins, and curses spring involuntarily to his lips. I remember one poor boy from my immediate vicinity, especially. His name is Dougherty. He went into Andersonville prison without a scar on his young body or a cloud on his fair brow, but under the humanitarianism of Southern chivalry he came out without a foot to walk on. They were literally frozen off in prison.

In the fall of 1867, General Logan declined the proffered honor of the nomination for Governor of Illinois, which he was earnestly urged to take by the press and the Republican party of the State generally.

In 1868 the Order of the Grand Army of the Republic was organized at Decatur, in his native State, and he was elected Commander-in-Chief. On the 5th of May, of that year, he issued the order which he has since characterized as the proudest act of his life, setting apart the 30th of May for the decoration of the graves of those who fell in the defense of the Union. The order ran as follows :

HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
446 14TH STREET, WASHINGTON, D. C., May 5, 1868.

General Orders No. 11.

I. The 30th day of May, 1868, is designated for the purpose of strewing with flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion, and whose bodies now lie in almost every city, village, hamlet, and church-yard in the land. In this observance no form

of ceremony is prescribed, but posts and comrades will, in their own way, arrange such fitting services and testimonials of respect as circumstances may permit.

We are organized, comrades, as our regulations tell us, for the purpose, among other things, "of preserving and strengthening those kind and fraternal feelings which have bound together the soldiers, sailors, and marines who united together to suppress the late rebellion." What can aid more to assure this result than by cherishing tenderly the memory of our heroic dead, who made their breasts a barricade between our country and its foes. Their soldier lives were the reveille of freedom to a race in chains, and their deaths the tattoo of rebellious tyranny in arms. We should guard their graves with sacred vigilance. All that the consecrated wealth and taste of the nation can add to their adornment and security is but a fitting tribute to the memory of her slain defenders. Let no wanton foot tread rudely on such hallowed grounds. Let pleasant paths invite the coming and going of reverent visitors and fond mourners. Let no vandalism of avarice or neglect, no ravages of time testify to the present or to the coming generations that we have forgotten, as a people, the cost of a free and undivided Republic.

If other eyes grow dull, and other hands slack, and other hearts grow cold in the solemn trust, ours shall keep it well as long as the light and warmth of life remain to us.

Let us, then, at the time appointed, gather around their sacred remains, and garland the passionless mounds above them with the choicest flowers of spring-time; let us raise above them the dear old flag they saved from dishonor; let us, in this solemn presence, renew our pledges to aid and assist those whom they have left among us—a sacred charge upon a nation's gratitude—the soldier's and sailor's widow and orphan.

II. It is the purpose of the Commander-in-Chief to inaugurate this observance, with the hope that it will be kept up from year to year, while a survivor of the war remains to honor the memory of his departed comrades. He earnestly desires the public press to call attention to this order, and lend its friendly aid in bringing it to the notice of comrades in all parts of the country, in time for simultaneous compliance therewith.

III. Department commanders will use every effort to make this order effective.

By order of

JOHN A. LOGAN,

Commander-in-Chief.

Official. N. P. CHIPMAN, *Adjutant-General.*

This observance having struck a key-note in the hearts of the Nation, General Logan introduced in Congress that year a resolution which resulted in making the day a National holiday, which was unanimously adopted, as follows :

Resolved, That the proceedings of the different cities, towns, etc., recently held in commemoration of the gallant heroes who have sacrificed their lives in defense of the Republic, and the record of the ceremonial of the decoration of the honored tombs of the departed, shall be collected and bound, under the direction of such person as the Speaker shall designate, for the use of Congress.

On the 24th day of February, 1868, the House of Representatives gravely resolved, for the first time in the history of the United States, to resort to its Constitutional prerogative, to impeach the President of the United States for high crimes and misdemeanors. The eleven articles of impeachment were agreed to on the 2d of March, and two days later were presented to the Senate by the managers on the part of the House, of whom General Logan was one. In the ensuing trial of Andrew Johnson, which lasted from the 13th of March to the 26th of May, General Logan took a prominent part, making a legal argument which convicted the President before the country, although he escaped the just verdict for his crimes by a slender margin of one vote. There were fifty-four Senators before whom the case was tried, as the High Council of the Nation, and two-thirds, or thirty-six votes, were necessary for a conviction. Upon no less than three of the several

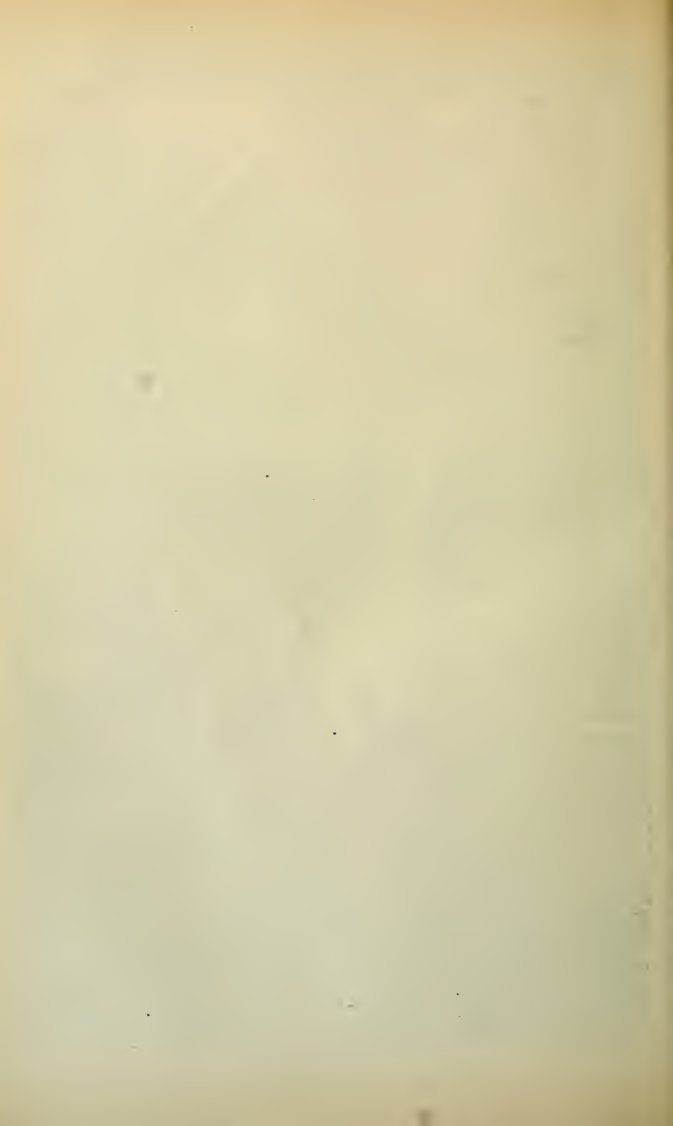
articles of impeachment the votes stood—thirty-five guilty to nineteen not guilty. A vote of thirty-six to eighteen would have displaced him from office. In the course of his argument in this case, Manager Logan, in behalf of the House, said :

I wish to assure you, Senators,—I wish most earnestly and sincerely to assure the learned and honorable counsel for the defense,—that we speak not only for ourselves, but for the great body of people, when we say that we regret this occasion, and we regret the necessity which has devolved this duty upon us. Heretofore, sirs, it has been the pride of every American to point to the Chief Magistrate of his nation. It has been his boast that to that great office have always been brought the most pre-eminent purity, the most undoubted integrity, and the most unquestioned loyalty which the country could produce. However fierce might be the strife of party, however clamorous might be the cry of politics, however desperate might be the struggles of leaders and of factions, it has always been felt that the President of the United States was an administrator of the law in all its force and example, and would be a promoter of the welfare of his country in all its perils and adversities. Such have been the hopes and such has been the reliance of the people at large; and in consequence the Chief Executive chair has come to assume in the hearts of Americans a form so sacred and a name so spotless that nothing impure could attach to the one and nothing dishonorable could taint the other. To do aught or to say aught which will disturb this cherished feeling will be to destroy one of the dearest impressions to which our people cling.

And yet, sirs, this is our duty to-day. We are here to show that President Johnson, the man whom this country once honored, is unfitted for his place. We are here to show that in his person he has violated the honor and sanctity of his office. We are here to show that he usurped the power of his position and the emoluments of his patronage. We are here to show that he has not only willfully violated the law, but has maliciously com-



IN WINTER QUARTERS AT HUNTSVILLE, ALA.



manded its infringement. We are here to show that he has deliberately done those things which he ought not to have done, and that he has criminally left undone those things which he ought to have done.

He has betrayed his countrymen that he might perpetuate his power, and has sacrificed their interests that he might swell his authority. He has made the good of the people subordinate to his ambition, and the harmony of the community second to his desires. He has stood in the way which would have led the dismembered States back to prosperity and peace, and has instigated them to the path which led to discord and to strife. He has obstructed acts which were intended to heal, and has counseled the course which was intended to separate. The differences which he might have reconciled by his voice he has stimulated by his example. The questions which might have been amicably settled by his acquiescence have been aggravated by his insolence; and in all those instances whereof we in our articles complain, he has made his prerogatives a burden to the Commonwealth instead of a blessing to his constituents.

And it is not alone that in his public course he has been shameless and guilty, but that his private conduct has been incendiary and malignant. It is not only that he has notoriously broken the law, but that he has criminally scoffed at the framers of the law. By public harangue and by political arts he has sought to cast odium upon Congress and to insure credit for himself; and thus, in a Government where equal respect and dignity should be observed in reference to the power and authority conferred upon each of its several departments, he has attempted to subvert their just proportions and to arrogate to himself their respective jurisdictions. It is for these things, Senators, that to-day he stands impeached; and it is because of these that the people have bid us prosecute. That we regret it, I have said; that they regret it, I repeat; and though it tears away the beautiful belief with which, like a drapery, they had invested the altar, yet they feel that the time has come when they must expose and expel the sacrilegious priest in order to protect and preserve the purity of the temple.

* * * * *

The world in after-times will read the history of the administration of Andrew Johnson as an illustration of the depth to which political and official perfidy can descend. Amid the unhealed, ghastly scars of war; surrounded by the weeds of widowhood and cries of orphanage; associating with and sustained by the soldiers of the Republic of whom at one time he claimed to be one; surrounded by the men who had supported, aided, and cheered Mr. Lincoln through the darkest hours and sorest trials of his sad yet immortal administration—men whose lives had been dedicated to the cause of justice, law, and universal liberty—the men who had nominated and elected him to the second office in the nation at a time when he scarcely dared visit his own home because of the traitorous instincts of his own people; yet, as shown by his official acts, messages, speeches, conversations, and associations, almost from the time when the blood of Lincoln was warm on the floor of Ford's Theater, Andrew Johnson was contemplating treason to all the fresh fruits of the overthrown and crushed rebellion, and an affiliation with, and a practical, official, and hearty sympathy for, those who had cost us hecatombs of slain citizens, billions of treasure, and an almost ruined country. His great aim and purpose has been to subvert law, usurp authority, insult and outrage Congress, reconstruct the rebel States in the interests of treasons, insult the memories and resting-places of our heroic dead, outrage the feelings and deride the principles of the living men who aided in saving the Union, and deliver all that was snatched from wreck and ruin into the hands of unrepentant, but by him pardoned, traitors.

* * * * *

We are not doubtful of your verdict. Andrew Johnson has long since been tried by the whole people and found guilty, and you can but confirm that judgment already pronounced by the sovereign American people.

But an imperfect idea of the scope of the argument can be gathered from these brief extracts of a speech that covered

nearly twenty pages of the Record ; but suffice it to say, that the most scholarly lawyers of the time pronounced it a legal statement of the case that could not be surpassed.

General Logan has always been prominent, during his career in Congress, for his efforts to secure the fulfillment by the Government of its sacred contract with the soldiers, by pensioning the survivors of our various wars, in accordance with the demands of justice. In 1868, the House having under consideration the bill to pension the soldiers of the war of 1812, General Logan, during the progress of a speech in favor of the measure, spoke as follows :

I ask the gentlemen of the House to reflect for one moment upon the principle on which we grant a pension to a soldier. In granting pensions, do we vote with reference to the amount of money, small or large, that the payment of the pensions will take ? No, sir. We pass such acts upon the principle that the soldier has done his duty to his country, and that the country is under obligation to provide for him for the remainder of his life, if he need such provision. When we grant pensions to wounded soldiers, we do not inquire how many wounded soldiers there are, and how much money it will take to provide a pension for all of them. We do not determine the question upon any such conditions. We vote pensions because we believe that a man who, in defending his country, has met the shock of battle and has thus received wounds, deserves the gratitude of his country, and is entitled to its protecting care in his declining years.

I say, then, in reference to this bill, that the men for whom it is intended to provide are entitled to pensions. Why ? Not because they are few or because they are many, but because they defended the liberties of this country at a time when their defense was needed.

Being re-nominated, by acclamation, for Congress from the State-at-large, he was also elected a delegate to the National Republican Convention that year, where he headed the Illinois

delegation, and placed General Grant in nomination for President of the United States.

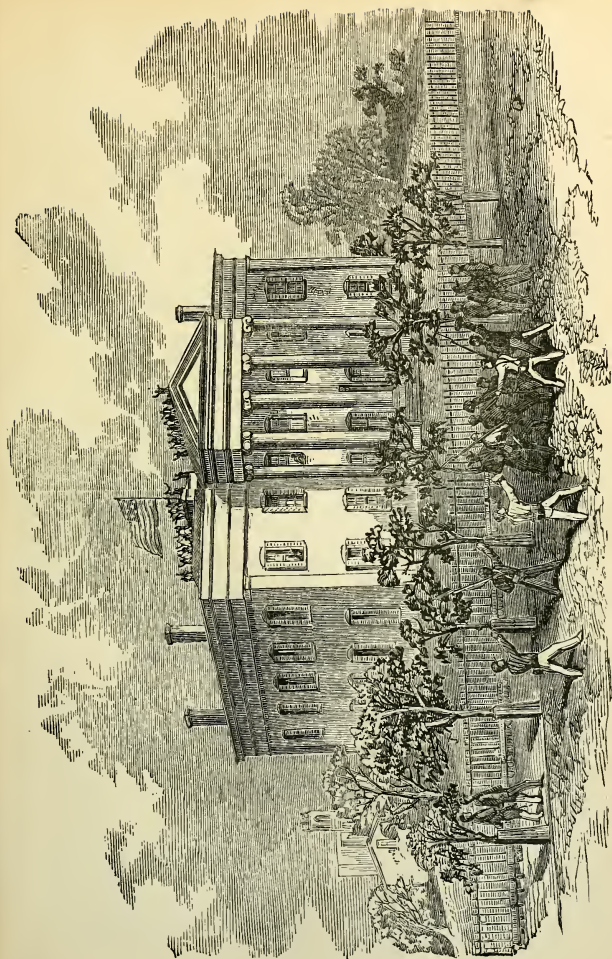
In the House of Representatives, on the 16th of July, he made a review of the public questions which were before the country at that time, which cannot fail to be read with interest. In the course of this speech he handled the Democratic party without gloves, uncovering their position, dissecting their platform, and demonstrating in unmistakable terms why it would be suicidal policy for the country to allow the affairs of the nation to pass under their management. Inasmuch as it holds up a mirror to the situation in public affairs at that time, several extracts will be given from it. Copying from the official records of the House, Mr. Logan's speech appears, in part, as follows :

Mr. Chairman, the Democratic platform is a "whited sepulcher, full of dead men's bones." It is a monument which is intended to hide decay and conceal corruption. Like many other monuments, it attracts attention by its vast proportions, and excites disgust by the falsity of its inscriptions. The casual observer, knowing nothing of the previous life of the deceased, who reads this eulogy upon the tomb, might imagine that all the virtues, the intellect, and the genius of the age were buried there. But to him who knows that the life had been a living lie, an incessant pursuit of base ends, the stone is a mockery and the panegyric a fable.

It is my purpose to show, sir, that this Democratic platform is a mockery of the past, and that its promises for the future are hollow, evasive, and fabulous ; that it disregards the sanctities of truth, and deals only in the language of the juggler. It is like the words of the weird witches who wrought a noble nature to crime and ruin, and then in the hour of dire extremity

"Kept the word of promise to the ear,
And broke it to the hope."

What are the pledges of this platform, made by a party which now asks place and power for themselves, and retirement and



RAISING THE STARS AND STRIPES IN GEORGIA.

obscurity for us? They pledge peace to the country. Well, sir, the country should have peace. They pledge a uniform and valuable currency to the country. Sir, the country desires such a currency. They pledge economy in the administration of the Government. Judicious economy is among the first maxims of government. They pledge payment of the public debt and reduction of taxation. I agree that the public credit must be preserved at all hazards, and that taxation should be reduced by all means. They pledge reform of all abuses. Sir, when once an abuse is discovered, no man will deny that it should be at once reformed. They pledge the observance of the laws, the guarantees of the Constitution, the rights of the people, and the promotion of the public weal.

* * * * *

It requires an unusual condition of public affairs to produce such an unusual platform, and we require to know what that condition is before we can judge of it. Let us see what is the condition, and what produced it. A very few years ago the Democratic party was in power. They had been in power for many, many years before. Whatever of good there was in their policy they had had time to develop it. Whatever of evil there was, they had had opportunity to correct it. They did neither the one thing nor the other. There were no hostile armies then. The people imagined that there was peace. A few only believed that there could be war. But war was imminent. Under the surface of peace that party was preparing for war. In the council-chambers of the Nation they howled for war. In the different departments of the Government where they were trusted and uncontrolled they were preparing for war. In the minds of the young and unsuspecting they sowed the seeds of war. In their newspapers they threatened war. In the lecture-room, in the college, from the pulpit and the rostrum they invoked war; and finally, when they judged the time had come when the Nation was most helpless and the weapons of defense most useless, they made war—and war of what kind? Actual war, treasonable war—war against those who had loved and fostered them—upon co-dwellers under the same roof and

brothers by birth and blood. How did war find us? It found us as the ship is found when pirates scuttle her—open to the mercy of the waves, and ready to be engulfed.

We had made no preparation for war. The military and naval establishments were on a peace footing, and even the skeleton had been disjointed. Treason was in the high places, and consternation pervaded everywhere else. That which might have been efficient in a pinch had been weakened by treachery or paralyzed by surprise. We had few troops, few guns, few forts, few sail, and few commanders. Scarcely a man in the North out of the regular service knew the first movements in the school of the soldier. The knowledge of arms had not been sought, and material and munition of war had been sparsely provided. We had no money to carry on a war. We had no policy declared to carry us through a war. But war, bloody, dreadful, disrupting, came upon us, and we had to meet it as best we could. The first thing was to get money. We issued the greenbacks. Whether that was the wisest thing to be done is not the question. At that time it seemed to be the only thing we could do, and therefore we did it.

In so far as we could we struggled to keep down our debt and to keep up our credit. What else? We found slavery had been a cause of war; but we found also that war abolished slavery. What next? We found those who had been slaves were true; and those who should have been true were false. We gave the slave a musket because we found he was a man; and we gave him a ballot that he might be a citizen. And so, sir, under these disabilities and against all these disadvantages we fought out that fight. We subdued the rebellion—we ended the war.

* * * * *

It is not true, then, that the Democratic Party will give peace to the country. They have been the party of war, and by the written declarations of their candidate for Vice-President they propose more war unless they can undo all the victory we have achieved, and renew rebellion where we have quieted it. I read, Mr. Chairman, a letter written by Major-General F. P. Blair to Colonel Broadhead, of St. Louis:

“WASHINGTON, June 30, 1868.

“DEAR COLONEL: In reply to your inquiries I beg leave to say that I leave to you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the Democratic Convention, and to submit the following as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest:

“The reconstruction policy of the Radicals will be complete before the next election; the States so long excluded will have been admitted, negro suffrage established, and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in both branches of Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, undo the Radical plan of reconstruction by Congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can only be overthrown by the authority of the Executive, who is sworn to maintain the Constitution, and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of Congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

“If the President elected by the Democracy enforces or permits others to enforce these reconstruction acts, the Radicals, by the accession of twenty spurious Senators and fifty Representatives, will control both branches of Congress, and his Administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.

“There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the South, and with the co-operation of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put the issue plainly to the country.

“I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us: Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the Government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk

of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith, and the public credit. What can a Democratic President do in regard to any of these, with a Congress in both branches controlled by the carpet-baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like these, eat up the revenue and resources of the Government and destroy its credit—make the difference between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by trampling into dust the usurpation of Congress known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the Convention upon this issue, but it is one which embraces everything else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle.

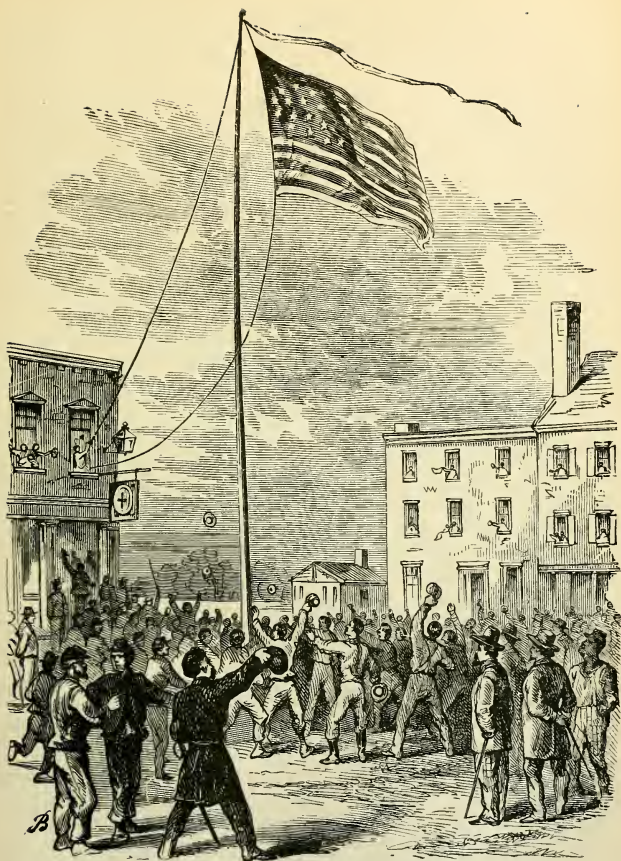
“Your friend,

“FRANK P. BLAIR.

“Colonel JAMES O. BROADHEAD.”

Is this the language of peace? Is this the pledge of security to the country? Is this the return to the settled pursuits of civil life and the calm routine of trade, which shall reassure our people and restore our prosperity? Does it not rather suggest the clarion-trump and the clash of arms—the neigh of steed and the shriek of death? Are our taxes to be lessened under these threats? Will our credit be made better by these means? * *

Where, now, are the pledges of specie payment, of redeemed bonds, of equal currency, of wise legislation, of amicable feeling, of restored confidence, of judicious economy and reduced taxation? Gone! gone! The loud note of insurrection has dispelled them all, and the possibility of our national parliament being dissolved by the sword, as in Cromwell's day, has put all lingering hope to flight. We are promised a uniform and valuable currency—one currency—which is to be sufficient “for the Government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.” We are promised “payment of the public debt as rapidly as



RAISING THE FLAG AT JACKSON, MISS.



practicable." We are notified of "equal taxation of every species of property, including bonds and other securities."

* * * * *

We have heard that much of our miseries are due to the "bloated bondholder." They are lepers who have infected us in our persons and tainted our financial atmosphere. But they are assured by this platform that "they need have no fears that their property is to be swept away by a new inundation of paper money."

If these bonds are vile as they say, why should they not be swept away under a Democratic dispensation? We do not think they are: but if we are to rely on Democratic testimony they are the gangrene of our body politic. Again, if there is to be no "new inundation of paper money," how are the greenbacks to be raised which, levied in taxation, are to pay off the national debt? First, it is said, they will raise greenbacks by taxation and pay off the bonds. It must be admitted that the greenbacks already in circulation are not adequate for this, and so more must be issued. But next it is said that there will be no more issued. Then how are the bonds to be paid? It may be that this is all clear to other eyes, and that the end will certainly be reached by the means; but I trust I may be pardoned if I confess at once that I am not able to take that "intelligent view" which shows me how it is to be done. * * *

There is another part of the platform which has a pertinent bearing on this subject. It is the declaration in favor of "one currency for the Government and the people, for the bondholder and the producer." Now, although nothing is expressly said upon that point, we suppose the platform contemplates the payment of the duties on imports in coin as heretofore. This seems to us a justifiable, nay, an inevitable inference from what is said about paying in coin such obligations of the Government as stipulate for coin upon their face. The interest upon both the ten-forty and the five-twenty bonds is payable in coin by the very terms of the law, and also the principal of the ten-forties. If the Government keeps this express engagement, it must by some means raise the coin, and no other method is suggested

than by collecting it, as now, at the custom-houses. Now, as the platform pledges the party to pay specie to the bondholders to meet their interests and that part of their principal which the law requires to be paid in coin, it seems evident that the "one currency for the Government and the people, the bondholder and the producer," must contemplate an early return to specie payments. The "one currency" must mean either a uniform good currency or a uniform bad currency. It is inconceivable in itself and inconsistent with the platform that the old, hard-money Democratic party should promise a uniform currency of bad money. The one currency means a sound currency; a currency equivalent to coin and at all times exchangeable for it. One currency of depreciated greenbacks would be inconsistent with the payment in coin of that part of the public obligations which are acknowledged by the platform to be due in coin; inconsistent with the collection of the revenue from imports in gold; inconsistent with the idea that we are ever to return to specie payments.

* * * * *

The country wants peace; through peace will come prosperity. Prosperity thrives under a government of fixed principles, and principles are most firmly fixed when they are most generally and best understood by the people at large. If their finances fail, all else fails. Now, what do they say upon another most essential and remunerative branch of the national finances—that branch which is now and must continue to be the only gold-yielding portion of our revenue—I mean the tariff? I quote, sir, from the *World*:*

"There is only one other subject embraced in the platform which seems to call for any remark, and that is the tariff, or 'protection.' This part of the platform is a muddle. The language is a 'tariff for revenue upon foreign imports,' which is good, sound Democratic doctrine, but it is immediately followed by this unintelligible jumble: 'and such equal taxation under the internal-revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures.' We are here treated to the paradox of a revenue tariff and protective internal taxes. But the wonder does not end here. A protective tariff discriminates, but internal taxes are to protect without discriminating. It is 'equal' inter-

* Of New York, democratic.

nal taxes that are to accomplish the feat of protecting domestic manufactures. If all interests are taxed alike, how can any be protected? What are they to be protected against? Not against foreign rivals by internal taxes; not against domestic competition by equal taxes. The promise of a 'tariff for revenue' is excellent; all beyond that is nonsense."

You will observe, Mr. Chairman, that it is not I who says that this is a muddle, an unintelligible jumble, a paradox, and nonsense, but the leading Seymour paper in the United States.

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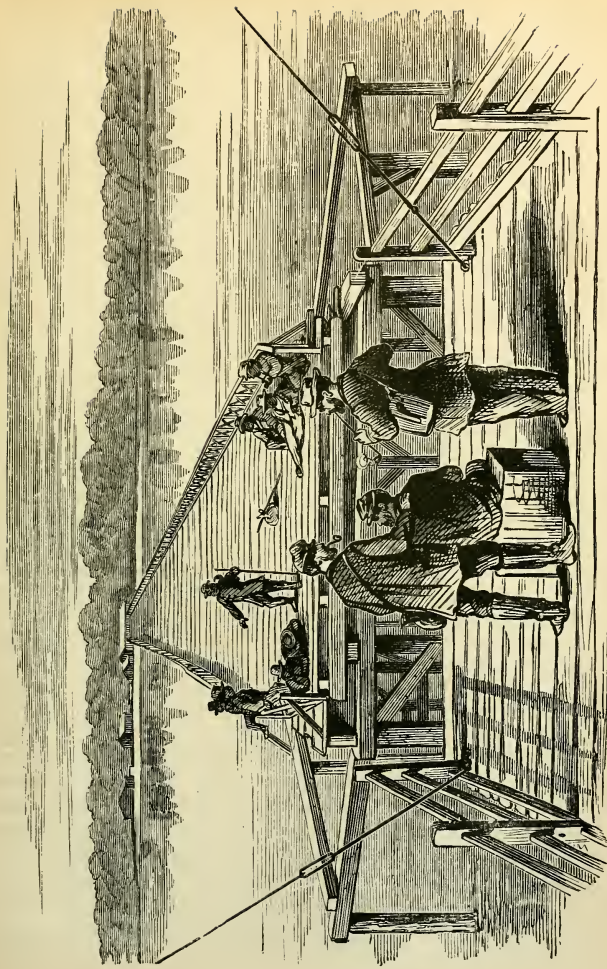
I desire, with your indulgence, to go a little behind the promise to inquire as to the character of those who make the promise. It is an axiom with all business men that the value of a note is determined not at all by what it promises to pay, but wholly and exclusively by the character of the makers and indorsers. I wish to inquire, Mr. Chairman, who are the men that made up that Democratic Convention, and who are the men who indorsed its candidates? I have already referred to the men who in time of peace plotted war. I have shown how it was that this country became charged with its load of debt. I have dwelt upon the struggles and the difficulties of that hour, and the wails and the woes of our mourners. I have stated how we did all that we did, because it was the only thing to do. I have shown how we wrestled with our adversary, and finally how we overcame our enemies. We bore the brunt of arms for the sake of our country, and to uphold its Constitution, its laws, and its liberties. We had but one desire, and that was "Peace to our country." We had but one anxiety, and that was to preserve intact this chosen land. Well, sir, as I said, the war was over and the victory was ours. There was no longer a rebel in arms. They had dispersed, as we supposed, never to meet again.

But, sir, we were mistaken. They have met again. Where? Why, this time upon Northern soil and in a Northern city—in the City of New York, the great metropolis of this country—in the Democratic Convention. I do not say that every man who met there had been a rebel; but I do say that all the rebels met there who are now leading in public life, and who hope for pub-

lic position. It was the same old story over again ; the same old faces to see. The men who had held this Government for years and plotted to destroy it while they held it, were there. The men who fought to destroy this Government when they could no longer hold it, were there. The men who, though they had never plotted to destroy it or fought against it, yet quietly acquiesced in the designs of those who did, were there. The men who have always given blind allegiance to the behest of party, regardless of the good of the country, were there. The men who have always been the praters and croakers and false prophets of the country were there ; and a few men who had once served their country, but were lured off by fatal ambition and the hope of spoils, were there. Good men may have been there, but bad men were most certainly there ; and just as certainly the bad outnumbered the good. And these are the men, sir, who complain of us. These are the men who say we have violated the law and have usurped the Constitution. We have told them to the contrary many and many a time. In these very halls, before they deserted their places, we assured them that we desired nothing but the law and the Constitution. After they had erected their first batteries, and before they fired on Fort Sumter, they were again assured that the law and the Constitution should be kept inviolate. Even after they had waged their fiercest war upon us the President of the United States once more proclaimed that we fought only to protect the Constitution and the laws.

I have no desire to keep alive old animosities or to recall the past with a view to let it rankle. I am willing that the lessons of the war should be their own monitor to those who learned them. But when I hear those who risked their lives to save our country ; when I hear those whose shorn limbs and maimed trunks are witnesses of their devotion to the laws, charged with breaking the laws ; when I hear those who are now lying in their premature graves for the cause of the Constitution, charged with usurping that Constitution,—I cannot help it if my indignant heart beats fast and my utterance grows thick, while I demand to know “Who are ye that denounce us?”

It is for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that I say the present



BRIDGE OVER THE LUMBER RIVER.



issue is one which concerns our young men greatly, because it contains the question whether in any future war it is worth while for them to embark in it. Heretofore it has always been held in all ages, ancient and modern, that he who defended his country was entitled to the gratitude of his country. But if it shall be decided by this election that he who defends his country is to be aspersed by his country, then the sooner it is understood the better it will be for those who would have otherwise periled their existence at the call of their people.

* * * * *

Speaking of the objects to be gained by the Republican party, General Logan said :

Our name shall be respected abroad, for we shall have demonstrated the doctrine of self-government. Our bonds will be sought for investment, for we shall have vindicated our integrity. Our currency shall be unsuspected at home, for we shall have proved its value. Our revenue shall be increased, for the country will have become inspired with confidence. Bad men will be hurled from power, and honest ones put in their places. Our taxes shall be diminished, for all will unite in yielding them. The Southern States will be reorganized and recognized, for they will have seen that therein lies their welfare.

We will go on, sir, as a Nation, hand-in-hand, treading the broad pathway which leads us up to prosperity and progress, with our march unimpeded by the difficulties which now surround us, and posterity shall bless our work unceasingly forever.

In the political campaign of that fall, General Logan took the stump, speaking in many places in various parts of the Union, to vast gatherings of the people. Inasmuch as his position upon finance has been somewhat under discussion, it will be well to reproduce portions of an oration delivered September 1, at Morris, Ill., which was printed in the *Chicago Republican*, covering two pages of the paper. It affords, also, a good specimen of the style on the hustings, of a popular orator who never fails to captivate the people. He said ;

Now, my fellow-citizens, I want to add, inasmuch as I am upon this subject of expense, that our debt being \$2,510,000,000 and a little over, we, the Republican party, propose to pay that debt. [Cheers and great applause.] That is to say, if we control the government we propose that that debt shall be paid. [Renewed applause.] And not only paid, but we also propose that the Democrats and rebels, or rebels and Democrats [applause] shall help to pay it. [Tremendous enthusiasm.] Yes, we propose that. [Loud applause.]

Now, how do we intend to do that? I differ with the Democracy in this country. I am not in a hurry to pay this, and I will give you my reasons for saying and feeling so. Our proposition is to liquidate this debt in twenty-five, thirty, or forty years. And, why do we propose to do that? In that length of time, owing now \$2,510,000,000,—if we reduce the public debt as rapidly as we have within the last two years—how long will it take to pay it, reducing taxation at the same time? Why, we shall cancel it in twenty-five years; at the same time—mind that!—at the same time doing away with taxation almost entirely. We will pay it in twenty-five years without our feeling it, by a tariff that will not be oppressive to the people, and by a light income-tax, together with a tax upon the luxuries of life. That is the policy of the Republican party. [Great applause and long cheering.]

We proposed, this last Congress, to fund this debt, and to fund it so that the interest would only be four to four and a half per cent instead of five and six per cent. But Mr. Johnson stuck the bill in his pocket, and it didn't become a law. But, according to the platform of the Republican Convention, we make the proposition to reduce the interest on the public debt and thereby lighten the burdens of the people. And we propose to do it, not by passing a law that a man shall take this thing for that, but to do it in such a way that it will cause the bondholders to exchange the one bond for the other by letting that other run a longer time at a lower rate of interest, as is the policy of England and other European powers, because the great capitalists prefer a bond running thirty or forty years, instead of—say ten—as it

saves them the trouble of reinvesting the money. And for that reason a bond running for a long term of years is better than one running for a short term, and can be put upon the market at a lower rate of interest.

This is our plan of paying the public debt. The Democratic party propose to pay it differently. I do not agree with them, as I remarked, in their proposition. They say they are in favor of paying it within five years. They want it paid right off. They say, "You are paying six per cent. interest on this great debt all the time." That is true, on the most of it. You pay six per cent. on about \$1,600,000,000, and five per cent. on the balance—that is, at the rate of six per cent. on the 5-20's and five per cent. on the 10-40's, in gold. They say that while we are paying that interest they want to stop that interest. How do they propose to stop that interest? It's the easiest thing in the world to do, the way they propose to do it. [Laughter.] They say they want to stop this interest by issuing greenbacks to pay off this debt, and they have a stump speech on that point that is calculated to deceive a great many ignorant people. It won't deceive any man of ordinary sense and information, but it may deceive a man who is destitute of that article that is very necessary in a country where one should understand his business and the affairs of the nation. [Laughter and applause.]

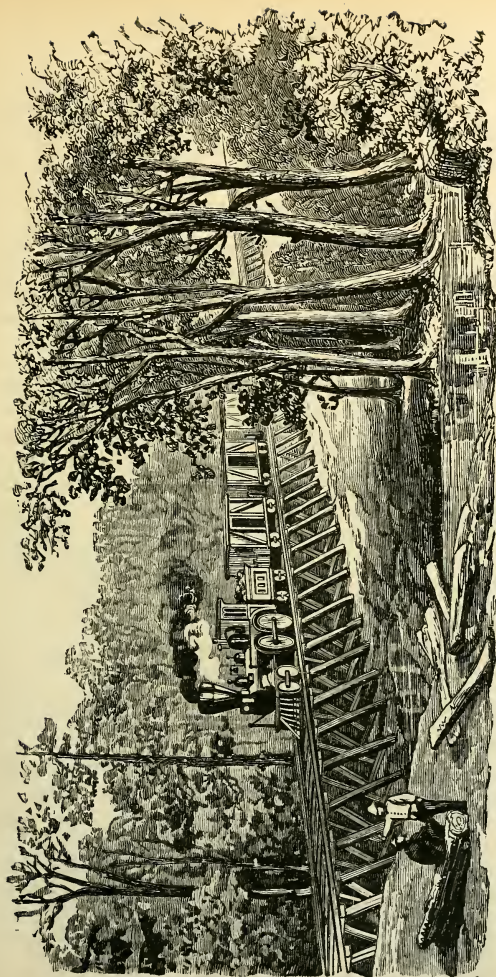
We have now \$700,000,000 of currency. Over \$350,000,000 of it is in United States Treasury notes, and the balance in National Bank notes. They say they propose to pay off the interest of these notes—the National Bank bonds that are deposited as collaterals, and all the bonds in the hands of the bondholders—because they are mad at the bondholder. They don't like him. They say he is a rich man and an aristocrat, and they want him paid off; they want to lift the burdens off the shoulders of the people. They are going to issue, besides the \$700,000,000 of currency we now have, a fresh lot.

* * * * *

Now, suppose you for a short time examine this question as sensible men. Suppose we issue "greenbacks" to pay off these bonds and stop the interest, how much do you make by that?

They say currency is good enough for the bondholder. But "that ain't the question." The question is, How does it affect the people? You are the men to be considered. The money goes into your hands. It is issued by the Government, and the bondholder gets it for his bonds, but he pays it directly over to you. He buys your horses, your cattle, your land, your products—for that is what you sell your produce for—and if there is any loss on it, who loses it? You are the men who lose it. The farmers, the mechanics, the laborers, are the men who must receive it, and they are the men in whose hands it must depreciate, and they are the men who must be responsible. But if they have not the gold and silver to pay off these \$1,600,000,000 of bonds, and liquidate them instead in greenbacks, how are you going to pay off the greenbacks when issued? We have got to pay them in something. They issue ten or sixteen hundred millions of greenbacks to pay off all the bonds, because they haven't the gold to-day to pay off the bonds. Then when you get the greenbacks and come to a bank to have them redeemed, what will you have to redeem them with? [Applause.] You have got no gold to do that with, and your currency will be worth nothing. Your money will be just in the condition the rebel's money was, over there in Richmond, Va. He had been over there in the rebellion, and had been making cannon for the Confederacy. When he went there the money was first-rate. Confederate money was good enough. He got up in the morning, put a two-dollar bill in his vest pocket, took his basket on his arm to buy his breakfast, which he would bring home in his basket and have it about full. He stayed there a year or so, and he said he then had to take the basket to carry his money in, and could almost bring his breakfast back in his vest pocket. [Laughter.] And you would be in that condition precisely if you were to pay off this debt in the manner the Democracy wants to pay it.

Let us illustrate it another way * * * * Suppose you, my friend, are in distress; * * * * you go to a neighbor and borrow money of him, and give him a note drawing ten per cent. You give him a note; he has lent you his money; you get out



TRAIN CARRYING LOGAN'S TROOPS TO MEMPHIS.



of your difficulty. As soon as you are fairly out of it he wants you to pay him, and you say "Yes; I will pay you." How—how are you going to pay your debt? According to the Democratic theory you will give him a new note, drawing no interest. That is the doctrine; that is it precisely. [Laughter and applause.]

In the course of this speech, also, he satirized the proposition to return to power the men whose best efforts had been devoted to the attempt to destroy the Government of the United States, showing the heedless folly of such a thing. He made a scorching arraignment of the brazen effrontery of the rebel leaders in offering their services to conduct the affairs of the nation, which they had barely failed to ruin. He said:

If you elect Grant and Colfax you will have peace. Because, let me tell you, that man Grant will keep peace. These rebels know it, and that is the reason they do not want him to be President. [Great applause.] With Seymour and Blair you will have revolution, in my judgment; with Grant and Colfax you will have peace and prosperity, in my judgment. Now if there are any soldiers here ["Here's one!"] I want to ask them this question. Let me illustrate our position as soldiers, because you know that there is a sympathy between us that hardly ever exists between other men. It matters not how much we may differ in politics, we have yet a respect the one for the other, if we show we have each done our duty in the cause of our country. That is universally so among soldiers, if they are Democratic soldiers or Republican soldiers. Suppose, for the purpose of looking at this thing in the light of a soldier, we soldiers could have the matter arranged according to our taste to-day. Suppose that we had a stand built on this side of the street, and one on the opposite side of the street. Suppose that we had Seymour—and Blair and the Democratic Convention—on the platform on this side of the street; Forrest on his right, Wade Hampton on his left, Joe Williams behind him a little, and the balance of the rebels bringing up the rear. Suppose on the other side we had Grant and Colfax, and the six hundred and thirty men in the Chicago Convention

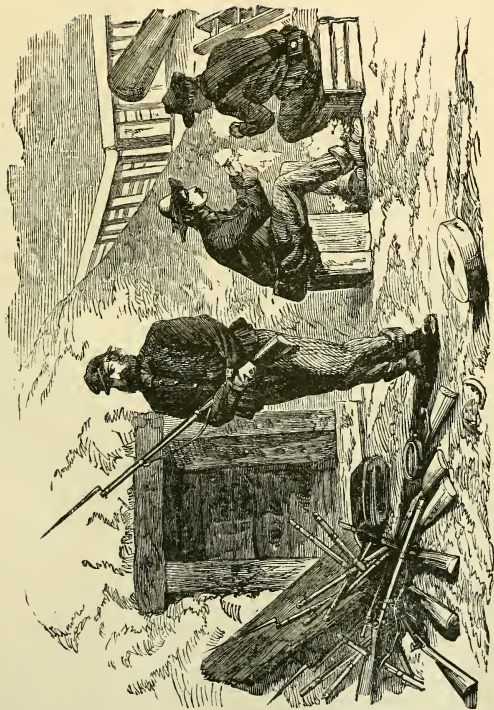
(three hundred of that number had served in the Union army). Suppose we had that arrangement, and suppose we had the power to call from their graves the three hundred thousand martyred brothers who sleep in the far-off vale, and who died that you and I might have protection. Suppose that we could bring all the widows in their weeds, and the orphans, and the one-legged and the one-armed soldiers, and we could place them in one grand row along that street, and pass them in review between these two conventions. I ask you, soldiers, if you could stand at one side and see that grand review, as it marched by these two stands, how you would be affected? As the three hundred thousand sainted martyrs passed by, clothed in white as spirits from above, casting their eyes to the right and left, there would be Grant and his three hundred soldier followers (and no rebels on his stand) shedding tears of mourning over the ones that were left behind. These spirits could say to them, "We died for your benefit and for your protection." When they turned their faces toward the stand on this side, what could they say? "Mr. Seymour, you said we could not save this country; that the draft was unconstitutional. You said the war was a failure; you signed a platform that said the further prosecution of it would lead to anarchy and misrule—you have been nominated for the Presidency, and there are your friends who represent your party sitting about you." "Here is Forrest," says one, "who butchered me." Another cries, "I am the spirit of that man who was burned by that murderer Forrest, who sits there, while I was lying sick in my tent." Another one says to Wade Hampton, "I am the man upon whose breast was pinned a ticket that my General and friends might see that I had been hanged while foraging in South Carolina." And these rebels sit here and see these men as they go by, followed by the widows, who hold up their weeds and say, "That stand bears the man that caused me to be dressed in mourning to-day." As the one-legged man goes by, holding up his crutch, he cries out, "You are the man that caused me to have but one leg;" the one-armed man would shake his stump at Forrest and Hampton and Preston, and their rebel brothers, and say, "You men are the cause of my being a cripple for life;" and as the child came

along it would prattle and say, "When will my father return? Thou art the man that gave me not my father back, but made me an orphan—thou art the man who murdered my parent—thou art the man who made my mother a widow." I ask you, soldiers, to-day, if you could stand and gaze upon a scene like that, and then turn around and say, "I will vote for the man who sits upon that platform with his rebels, Forrest and Hampton, and all of them around him, who have made those three hundred thousand dead brothers arise, and given us half a million of widows and orphans, and crippled and wounded soldiers." ["Never!" "Never!"] I say there is not a soldier to-day except he has lost his manhood, and there is not one man except he has lost his patriotism and is lost to every sense of honor and propriety, in this country, who could gaze upon such a scene as that and refuse to cast his ballot for Grant and his friends who go along with him, and head the great column of liberty and progress as we go through this land. I ask you, men, I ask you, women and children,—the little boys and the little girls,—to picture a lesson of this kind in your midst, because, although you may say, "This is one of Logan's fancies," it is not. It is true as Holy Writ. There you can see the whole lesson. It is written upon the graves, upon the bodies, upon the arms and legs of men in this country, and upon the clothing of the widows and the orphans of this whole land; and that lesson was written there by the hands of these men that I have mentioned, who to-day are asking you for your suffrage and for the control of this country. I say, in the name of Heaven, in the name of patriotism, in the name of three hundred thousand murdered dead, and in the name of the flag and the Constitution, and all there is that is near and dear to the people of this great land of ours, let us never disgrace ourselves by fighting four years to save a country, and then turn it over into the hands of the men who during that same four years attempted to destroy it. ["Never!" "Never!"—and intense excitement.] But let us say, inasmuch as we have saved this land, we will perpetuate its institutions, and will make liberty and progress, and civilization and Christianity, our watchwords. We will make this great country of ours what it should be, by

putting it into the hands of men that can protect it. We have preserved it and will perpetuate it.

Being re-elected to Congress, he took a prominent stand early upon the Civil Service Bill and the question of Land Grants to railroads. He aided to defeat the "Jenkes Bill," which contemplated the creation of a new executive department, of which the Vice-President should be the head. He believed that the measure was vicious, unconstitutional, and dangerous to the privileges and prerogatives of the people. The bill provided that, under the Vice-President, a Board of Commissioners should be appointed to make rules, and hold examinations under them, to divide the country into districts, to delegate their power to others, and to collect a fee from every person who should thereafter desire to be employed in the Civil Service of the Government in any capacity whatever, to be paid to the Commissioners or their deputies. He believed that this system would inaugurate an era of corruption and office brokerage. He was opposed to the measure also because it provided that the appointees of the Commissioners should hold office for life, and thus create an official aristocracy. The "Board" was also to provide a species of court-martial to try, adjudge, and punish all offenders, and their decision was to be final as to applications, without power of appeal or review. The granting of such absolute power to a board of any kind, he opposed as pernicious, and subversive of the public interest. He made a powerful argument against the concentration of power in the hands of the Vice-President which the "Jenkes Bill" contemplated. After which the friends of the measure gave up hope of its passage.

General Logan, in January, 1869, in the House of Representatives first called a halt to the system of subsidies to railroads. The bill under consideration had originated in the



GUARDING CAPTURED ARMS AT THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.



Senate for a grant of lands to the Denver Pacific Railway and Telegraph Company. He urged that the Government had already sufficiently subsidized this railroad, both in lands and money, and that it was not necessary to the advancement of the public interests that additional aid to the extent of \$16,000 a mile should be given. He argued that the company was able to complete its enterprise without this assistance, and that the subsidy and grant by Congress had already been extravagant.

In the course of his remarks General Logan said :

Now, sir, I say that I am in favor of the great march of improvement, of civilization, and a general development of all the wealth and resources of this country. But, sir, that is no reason why, as a Representative of my constituents, I should stand by and see the Treasury every day growing leaner and leaner by the inroads made upon it by these railroads and other corporations. I am not willing to do it. I say to my friends in this House ; I say to my Republican friends—though I do not regard this as a political measure by any means—that we pledged ourselves to our constituents in the Convention that nominated our President-elect, that economy should be our watchword. If we are true to the men that elected us we shall stand by that pledge to-day. What are we now asked by this corporation to do ? We are asked to vote \$16,000 a mile, against reason and against the will of our constituents, and against the declaration—not express but clearly implied—of the Convention that nominated our candidate for President. We are asked to support this bill, which is in opposition to the policy regarded as proper, expressed, as I understand, by the President-elect, his declaration having been made—not with reference to this particular bill, but generally with reference to subsidies of the character heretofore given to railroads—that it is unwise, at least in the present embarrassed condition of the Treasury. But this company comes modestly forward and says, “Subsidize for us these fifty-four miles of road ; slap your constituents in the face ; violate your party platform ; violate your pledges made upon the stump ; and on the eve of the new admin-

istration coming into power make a direct issue with it on the question of involving us in further liability. Let him understand that you are all-powerful, that you ask no odds from him. Give the people of the country to understand that you defy their will *in toto*." This, and nothing less, is what we are modestly asked by this company to do.

The speech killed the bill.

The records of the proceedings upon the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in February, 1869, show that General Logan's draft of the section was adopted. The Amendment coming from the Senate read, "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote or hold office, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Mr. Logan offered an amendment to strike out the words "or hold office." The House rejected this amendment, but agreed to one offered by Mr. Bingham, of Ohio, which inserted after the word "color," the words "nativity, property, creed." The Senate disagreed to this, however, and a conference, composed of Senators Stewart, Conkling and Edmunds, and Messrs. Boutwell, Bingham and Logan, from the House, was appointed to settle the question. They adopted Logan's proposition, and reported unanimously the clause as it stands to-day in the organic instrument of the United States, which was passed by the requisite two-thirds majority of both houses.

In January, 1870, General Logan, as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, reported and secured the passage by the House of his bill for the reduction of the army, and the mustering out of some five hundred officers.

It is needless to say that the powerful lobby which assumes control in Washington of all measures affecting army and navy affairs, was out in full force, plying its trade with its usual effrontery. General Logan, however, showed the perni-

cious waste of public money which was going on, as well as the corrupting influence which was at work, through the holding of civil positions by officers of the army, who could escape the penalty for malfeasance by retiring under the cloak of their military commissions. He showed that the staff corps for our 30,000 men was as numerous as that of France, for her half million, or Russia for her 800,000. He proceeded to review the condition of affairs, General Sherman, Secretary Robeson and others being upon the floor of the House, and using their influence to defeat the measure. It was adopted, effecting, as General Logan estimated, a saving annually of about three million dollars.

Some three months later, General Logan, having called attention to and placed upon the records, a letter written by General Sherman to Senator Wilson, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, attacking this bill for the reduction of the army, which had passed the House, and was then being considered by Wilson's Committee, made a speech, disclosing a thoroughness of knowledge of military administration which commanded the respect of even the regular army officers, although coming from a man who was only a distinguished volunteer. General Sherman's argument against Logan's measure was riddled, and shown to be so thoroughly specious, that it fell flat, and failed in its purpose of defeating the bill for the reduction and reform of the army.

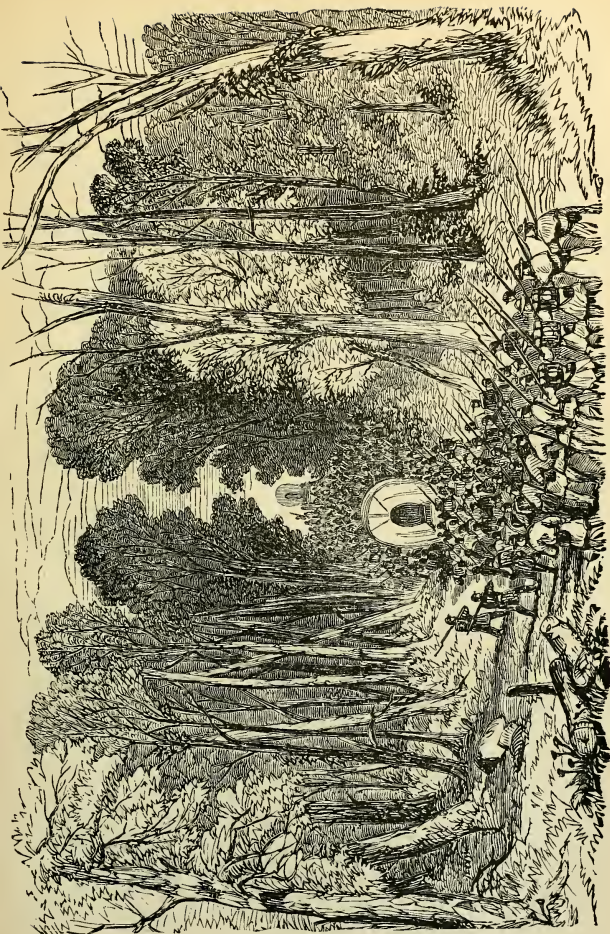
The galleries were filled to suffocation while Logan made his speech, and the audience had frequently to be checked in its tumultuous expressions of approval. In the conclusion of his scathing argument, General Logan said :

General Sherman says that if his pay be reduced he cannot give receptions. I do not care whether he can or not. It makes no difference to me. Sir, I remember a grand reception which was once given to him. I remember that on the 22d of May, 1865,

I marched around this Capitol and down Pennsylvania Avenue at the head of many thousand veteran soldiers, constituting the Army of the Tennessee. General Sherman was marching in advance. He then commanded General Slocum's army, the Army of Georgia, and my army, the Army of the Tennessee. He was greeted with cheers by men and women, by white and black. Bouquets were strewn everywhere. Every heart leaped with joy; and if the dead could have spoken, they would have shouted hallelujahs to his name.

Nearly all of those soldiers who followed me down Pennsylvania Avenue were volunteer soldiers. They had been engaged in more than a hundred battles. They constituted the old Army of the Tennessee, which was first commanded by Grant, and which I commanded last. They never knew defeat. They are forgotten to-day. Their memories live but a short time. Fifty years hence, history will hardly know that these men were engaged in the war. A few regular officers will claim all the credit, and will get it all. I am willing they shall have it. I want none, myself; I claim none. But while this officer, the General of the regular army, is attacking us, there are in this House a great many men who were volunteer soldiers—perhaps not so great as he, but equally patriotic. They were mustered out of the service. They are content to obey the laws and do their duty.

There sits a man [Mr. Paine] who, with one leg gone, slept upon the field, hearing during the dark, dismal night, no sound save the groans of the wounded and the dying. He votes for this bill, and for that reason he is an "inhuman" man. Another gentleman [Mr. Stoughton], a member of our Committee, who concurred in reporting this bill, slept upon the battle-field in the same way, and now goes around this House on a wooden leg. I could name twenty men on this floor who bear the marks and scars of rebel lead. They are to be forgotten. Let it be so; I have nothing to say; but I have a word to say in behalf of the taxpayers, in behalf of the soldier, and the soldier's widow. In their name, in the name of those brave Union men who sleep beneath the sod of the South, in the name of their widows and children, in the name of the one-legged and one-armed soldiers,



LOGAN'S TROOPS MARCHING TOWARD JACKSON, MISS.



I protest against the use of such power in the hands of these few men to defeat a great measure of public reform like this army bill.

I protest against this thing of dictating legislation to the country because a man is in a high place. I protest against any attempt to stifle legislation. I protest against the iron bands of power being woven like a net-work around the minds of independent legislators of this Nation. The people demand that the legislative branch of this Government shall be free, shall be untrammelled, shall be independent, and shall be unfettered, so far as military dictation is concerned ; and I say to the men who hold high positions in this country, that they are not the law-makers, but the law-obeyers, and that they shall not dictate the amount of taxation to be paid for their benefit or the benefit of anybody else. And, sir, whenever legislation is so stifled and so crippled that a man who has independence enough to stand up here in defense of economy and efficiency in the public service is attacked by high officials through the columns of the newspapers for the performance of his duty as a Representative of the people, and legislation thwarted thereby, then farewell to the liberties of this glorious Republic.

General Sherman parades, as if for our imitation, the British army, with four hundred generals. If we should adopt the suggestion and have four hundred generals, as in the British army, to one hundred thousand men, then, Mr. Speaker, we should give the death-knell to our free institutions. With such a military establishment the oriental world to-day has been blighted and accursed. It bears upon the people the heavy burden of a titled nobility. I demand that the people of this country shall not receive any such stain. I demand that this country shall not be put in the same position they are in Europe. If a man in Europe gets to be a general he must be a duke, and, if he gets to be a colonel he must be a marquis ; and while the people get two shillings a day for hard labor the duke or marquis must get \$30,000 per annum for doing nothing. Such is the rule and such is the condition of things in Europe. I wish to know whether this attack on me means that this country shall be subverted into the hands of powerful military men who are to be-

come aristocrats as they are in Europe? I wish to know whether titles are to be established here? I wish to know whether a body of nobility is to grow up here?

I know the people are honest, as we have been told in that letter. Yes, sir, the people are honest, the people are brave, and the people are true. He would not have been a General if it had not been for the people. It was the boy who carried the musket who made him what he is. The boys who carried muskets so gallantly during the late war made all these men who now hold themselves so high. They are the boys who made generals and presidents and can unmake them; and I say, for one, I shall stand up here as the defender of these boys and these men, of their widows and their orphans, and for the liberties of all the people in this country, against all generals, or marshals, or governors, or princes, or potentates, regardless of whatever aristocracy may be attempted to be set up in this land. While I live I will stand as their defender. Living or dying, I shall defend the liberties of this people, making war against dictation and against aristocracy and in favor of republicanism.

After a desperate struggle, General Logan had the satisfaction of seeing his bill become a law late in the session.

During the agitation of the proposition to remove the Capital from Washington to the Mississippi Valley, in 1870, General Logan made a speech advocating the measure. He claimed that that was the time to take the step, and that a more favorable opportunity would never occur. The Government had been remodeled on the basis of freedom, and was about to enter upon a new era of greatness and prosperity. It was appropriate that the Capital of the nation should be in its center, and if this was ever to be brought about, the beginning of the new epoch was the appropriate season for its accomplishment.

In the debate upon the readmission of Virginia into the Union, he made a speech, the close of which was characterized by the press of the day as one of the most admirable pieces of spontaneous eloquence of the session. He said;

"I am in favor of the admission of the State at the earliest practicable moment, so as to get these vexed questions that have been before Congress and before the Union for years past out of the way; that all this strife may pass away from the halls of Congress; that all the States may again take their positions in the family of States; that they again may bow to the old flag of the Union; that they again may turn their eyes up to the shining stars and there receive the light that the fathers of the country received, and that they transmitted to the generations to come after them. I am for it, that the gloom that hangs around this country and the dark cloud that has hovered over us so long may pass away, and the light of heaven serenely shine once more upon the Republic of America.

During that session he secured the expulsion from the House of Whittemore, a Representative of South Carolina, convicted of selling appointments to West Point and Annapolis, the charge having been investigated by General Logan's Committee on Military Affairs. Logan carried his point after a fierce set-to on the floor of the House with Butler, of Massachusetts.

The Cuban revolution had been under way for some time. In 1870 the proposition was mooted to acknowledge the independence of the island. February 17, General Logan offered a resolution in Congress to recognize the belligerents.

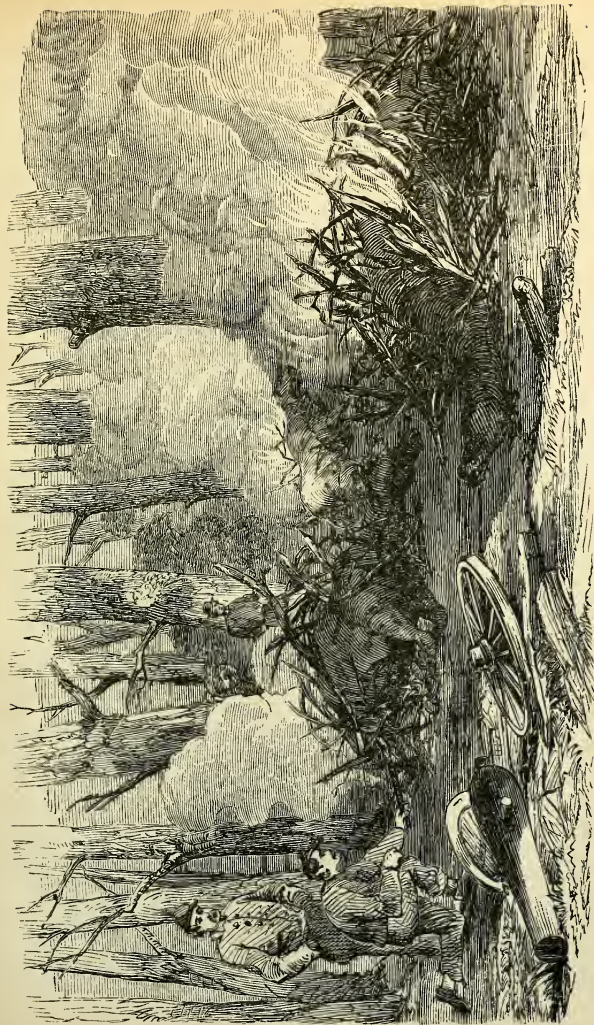
The affairs of the Queen of the Antilles excited then, as they always must, a great deal of interest in the United States; lying within the shadow of our shores, the key to the Gulf of Mexico, and by the natural laws of trade a commercial dependence of this country. The American people naturally sympathized with the struggles of the islanders for freedom. General Logan, in addressing the House on this subject, said:

The question as to whether this Government shall or shall not accord to the Cuban patriots belligerent rights is one of grave importance. On the one hand it involves the great principles

of freedom and right of self-government; on the other, important national principles and nice distinctions of international law. Therefore I hesitated on account of the somewhat meager details and conflicting reports we have received in regard to the contest which has been going on in the island of Cuba; but this uncertainty, I think, now no longer exists, as I expect to show in the course of these remarks. Another reason why I hesitated was that this action places me in apparent opposition to that administration which I heartily support and with which I am in full sympathy.

But, sir, I do not feel that I can discharge my duty and remain silent. If I should err, I have the satisfaction of knowing that it is better to err in behalf of liberty, than against it; and if there is any doubt in the minds of members on this subject, surely the benefit of that doubt should be cast in favor of freedom and the right of self-government. Let our various views as to policy be what they may, I think I can safely assert that all feel the deep current of opinion pressing upon us. Though smothered to comparative silence, we feel it like the hot breath of the slumbering volcano which precedes the rending upheaval; we know it is there. Though the tongue of the Nation is comparatively mute on this subject, yet the mighty heart palpitates with sympathy for the struggling patriots of the Queen of the Antilles, and we feel the beating strokes. Even the voices of those who tell us to wait, bear in their tones an indication that behind the words lie deep fountains of sympathy anxious to gush forth in words of cheer.

Passing over some things which should come in, in chronological order, we will take up the debate upon the Cuban question which was resumed again some three months later, when General Logan spoke a second time in support of his resolution. A few passages from that speech will not be without interest, now that the condition of down-trodden Cuba is again particularly awakening the attention of the people of the United States. He said:



BURNING THE HORSES KILLED AT CHAMPION HILLS.



I tell that gentleman [Mr. Butler] to-day that I have in my hand a copy of their constitution, and it is, as General Banks says, as good a constitution in some respects as that under which we live. The twenty-fourth article of that constitution is in these words :

“All the inhabitants of the republic of Cuba are absolutely free.”

It is a constitution at war with slavery and despotism, and in favor of freedom. You talk to me about my sympathies. I tell you I am in favor of this struggling people—in favor of liberty, and opposed to monarchy and slavery everywhere. And all of us should be the same, if we were as we were a few months ago. A vote to-day for the independence or for the recognition of the fact that there is war in Cuba is a vote for freedom against slavery, a vote in favor of republican principles and republican institutions, and against monarchy and oppression. That is one of the questions which is to-day before us and the American people. * * * But it is said they hold no seaport, and if you undertake to go to see them, to make them a visit, you must go through the Spanish lines. How strange that is! Does the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Butler] remember that a few years ago, when he and I were on the same side of a similar question, President Juarez, of Mexico, was up in the mountains of Chihuahua with only twenty pack-mules, carrying the government of Mexico in his hat, while Maximilian held the country with more than forty thousand men ? * * * * *

You say, again, that the Cubans have no seaport and collect no revenues. Let me apply to your argument your own logic. How many seaports had the Southern Confederacy in 1863 and 1864 ? Where did they have one not guarded by us ? We blockaded them everywhere along the immense line of coast. They had no ports anywhere that they could control so as to collect revenues from imports. Still, they were recognized as a power by every nation on earth, I believe, except our own, and, although we conquered and crushed them, we nevertheless recognized them as having the rights of belligerents.

As I have said, the question, then, is this: If there is war in Cuba between the people there termed insurgents and the mon-

archy of Spain, it is our duty to side with the one or the other, and the question is now for us to decide which. But Spain is a government, says the gentleman. We must recognize it, furnish it with gunboats, with powder and munitions of war to be used against the Cubans. Yes, Spain is a government, so called, and the woman who was at its head a short time ago has been driven from her throne, and is now a wanderer upon the face of the earth, not permitted to return to her home. Yet to-day that government is a monarchy controlled by a "ring" comprised of Prim and others. And while it stands forth patent before the world that this so-called government of Prim is nothing more nor less than a struggling anarchy within itself, scarcely knowing from one day to another who is at its head or who is its ruler, you recognize it with all its oppressions; you must aid that old, broken-down, effete ghost of a government to oppress and conquer these brave people who are pouring out their blood and treasure in behalf of liberty and independence.

The speaker continued to make an appeal for the cause of liberty, whose eloquence would well pay perusal entire. He succeeded in defeating the machinations of a ring of Cuban bondholders who were plotting to secure a title to the island for themselves.

A meeting was held on the 6th of April, 1870, at the Masonic Hall in Washington, in memory of the late General George H. Thomas. General Logan delivered an oration before the Department of the Potomac of the Grand Army of the Republic, upon the life and character of the "Rock of Chickamauga." General Schenck, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, presided, while members of the Cabinet, Senators, Representatives, and several Governors of States were present.

The hall was crowded with an enthusiastic audience, that had been attracted by unusual interest, owing to the intimate relations which had existed between General Thomas and his

eulogist. The address was a masterly effort. Under the circumstances, that portion of it which relates to the battle of Nashville is most interesting. We give an extract below showing the unstinted praise which the speaker bestowed upon Thomas, which but for his own magnanimity, he would never have had an opportunity to win.

When the army swung loose from its moorings at Atlanta, to sweep across the plains of Georgia, the troops left behind were placed under command of General Thomas to hold the enemy in check in Tennessee. And here, in some respects, was perhaps the most trying position of his life. Gradually falling back on Nashville to prevent the enemy from cutting off his communications, concentrating his forces and strengthening his cavalry arm, his delay and apparent inaction were misunderstood and his motives misinterpreted. The news of Hood's rapid and persistent advance into Tennessee, and apparently no strong effort on the part of Thomas to check him, was a riddle for a time, even at the headquarters of the army. Sensitive to every insinuation against his honor or his integrity, as one of his nature must ever be, it required all his self-control to keep his own counsel. But he was equal to the task, and moving steadily onward, perfecting his plans, he awaited patiently the moment at which to strike the decisive blow. When it arrived, it came like a thunderbolt upon the enemy.

Hood's army, shattered and broken, was scattered to the four winds, never to be again reorganized.

This cleared away effectually the cloud which for a moment had obscured his fame, and his star shone forth with increased splendor.

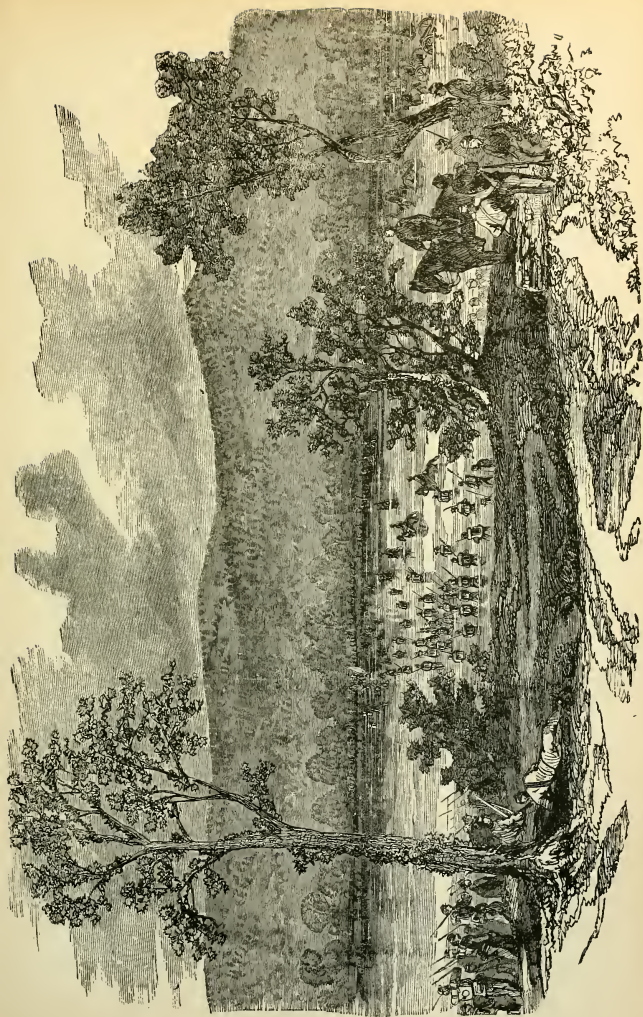
At the National encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, held at Washington in 1870, General Logan was elected unanimously for the third time as Commander-in-Chief.

General Logan was again re-nominated for Congress from

the State at large by acclamation in 1870, and made a vigorous canvass that fall, speaking in all the large cities and towns of the State. He found time also to make a tour across the State of Iowa, where he received a continuous ovation from the old soldiers of the Western Army, and the people, among whom his name had become a watchword. The press of Illinois began to urge his election as United States Senator, to succeed Richard Yates, whose term would expire on the 4th of March, 1871. The country very generally took an interest in the contest, the New York *Sun* observing that he had attained a very distinguished position in the House of Representatives, being a man of great vigor and originality of mind. His course upon the Cuban question, the *Sun* maintained, had been such as to render him a great favorite with all the friends of universal freedom.

Soon after the opening of the 2d session of the 42d Congress, General Logan offered in the House a bill to abolish the offices of Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Navy. This, General Logan declared, was only in pursuance of a policy of economy and propriety which he had followed with reference to the reduction of the army. The bill met vigorous opposition, as a matter of course, but was passed almost unanimously by the House.

When the Legislature met that winter for the election of United States Senator to succeed Yates, General Logan was the successful candidate. When the caucus of Republican members met, it was found that he had fully three-fourths of the votes of his party. He therefore received the nomination and election in due time. With this promotion, he began another era in his public career, which has been no less successful and marked than had been his achievements as a soldier, or his vigorous course in the lower branch of Congress.



LOGAN'S CORPS CROSSING THE CHATTAHOOCHEE.



CHAPTER VIII.

LOGAN IN THE SENATE.

General Logan's peculiar relations as United States Senator.—A constituency coextensive with the country.—A touching incident in Senatorial life.—The Senator at home—His description of the Chicago fire.—His reply to Sumner's attack on President Grant.—He secures legislation prohibiting the sale of fire-arms to the Indians.—On the stump in 1874.—His tilt with the rebel brigadiers in 1876.—He silences Gordon.—Defeats the bill to transfer the control of Indian affairs to the army.—Discussed by press and people for the Presidency.—Declines to allow the opposition to Mr. Blaine to combine on him at the Cincinnati Convention.—His interest in the Arrearage of Pensions and the Equalization of Bounties Bills.—His support of the Resumption Act.—Speech on finance at Van Wert, Ohio.—Re-elected to the United States Senate.—His opposition to the revolutionary methods of the Democrats in the Forty-sixth Congress.—The Army Bill and the pay of United States Marshals.—The attitude of the Republican party on the Southern question as outlined by Logan.—He is challenged to fight a duel.—His dignified course in this emergency.—His good sense meets public approval.—His speech on the Marshals' Bill.—Again in the front of the political battle.—His argument for the Five Per Cent. Land Claims of the States.—His opposition to the Fitz-John Porter Bill.—A four days' argument causes the abandonment of the measure.—Talked of for President in 1880.—He declares himself to be unqualifiedly for General Grant.—His work in the preliminary canvass.—Declares that the "Stalwarts" must abide by the result of the Convention.—An episode of the great Convention.—How near "Dick" Oglesby came to being President.—In the van for Garfield and Arthur.—His efforts to have General Grant placed on the retired list of the army.—Defends the pensioners of the war in 1882.—His bill to devote the Internal Revenue taxes to educational purposes.—His speech in advocacy of the measure.—His second argument in opposition to the restoration of Fitz-John Porter.—Assailed as an Indian land-grabber.—He demolishes the accusation, and places the refutation on the records of the Senate.

AS a Senator, General Logan has occupied a unique position in Washington. His constituency has not been confined to Illinois, but has been practically coextensive with the Union. This condition of things has arisen from a

variety of causes. He is personally known to more people, perhaps, than any other public man in Washington, from his long political career and his army service. Again, he was known to always have an ear open to others' woes and a kind heart, and did not retire behind the forbidding ramparts of a grand residence, but lived at an unpretentious boarding-house, where he was always easy of access. In the third place, he came to be recognized as the special friend of the soldier, and it seldom happened that an old veteran went to the capital on business with any department of the Government, who did not make his way at once to General Logan for assistance and advice.

In this way the Senator's years have been spent in patient toil, with a succession of duties of kindness in the morning, followed by committee meetings and the daily session, succeeded in turn by the study of some pending matter, or a stream of callers till far into the night. His daily mail, year by year, has not been exceeded in bulk and variety by that of a cabinet officer. From the fact that Mrs. Logan has for years shared in the duties involved in this immense correspondence, owing to the fact that the General has not been able to employ clerks enough to do the work, originated the report that this gifted lady wrote her husband's speeches. Nothing could be further from the fact. No one but the Senator himself ever wrote a speech for him, and usually he has written none for himself. It is not his habit of work. As a rule, he prepares himself on the legal points and the facts of a question, taking notes like a lawyer. Then, when he is ready, he delivers his argument without manuscript before him, with an ease that astonishes those of his colleagues less gifted or experienced in this particular.

A single incident of his life in Washington, as Senator, will serve to illustrate thousands.

A gentleman, who had called on business to see the Senator and was an eye-witness of the incident, told the story to the writer.

A card, soiled and bearing a badly written name in pencil, was brought in and handed to the General. He looked it over, and could scarcely make it out. Not being able to recall the person, he gave it to Mrs. Logan, saying: "Mother, who is this? I don't remember any one of this name."

Mrs. Logan took the blurred bit of card-board, and looking at it a moment, said cheerily: "I guess I'll go and see, General; it may be some poor man who wants to see you."

She went out, and in a few moments was heard coming back, while a stumping on the stairs showed that she was accompanied by an old veteran. They came in, and the General asked: "Well, what can I do for you?"

His visitor was a man past middle life, poorly clad, and buckled to his knee was an old-fashioned wooden leg.

"I don't know, General," he replied, with some hesitation. "You don't know me. I came to Washington a month ago to see about my pension. I live in Pennsylvania. Mr. — is my Congressman, but he don't seem to be able to help me any. I was wounded badly. The ball passed through my leg just below the knee, not breaking the bone, so it was not amputated. It troubled me for sixteen years, till I finally had to have it taken off, as you see. I can't do much, and have only been getting four dollars a month pension. I think I ought to have a full pension for the loss of the limb, but they say I can't get it because my leg was not amputated until so long afterwards, although the wound really necessitated it. They told me finally to go and see General Logan, that he was the old soldiers' friend, so I have come, General, to ask if you won't go to see the Commissioner of Pensions with me."

"Yes," replied the Senator; "be here at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, and I will go to the Pension Office with you. There ought to be a ruling made to fit your case."

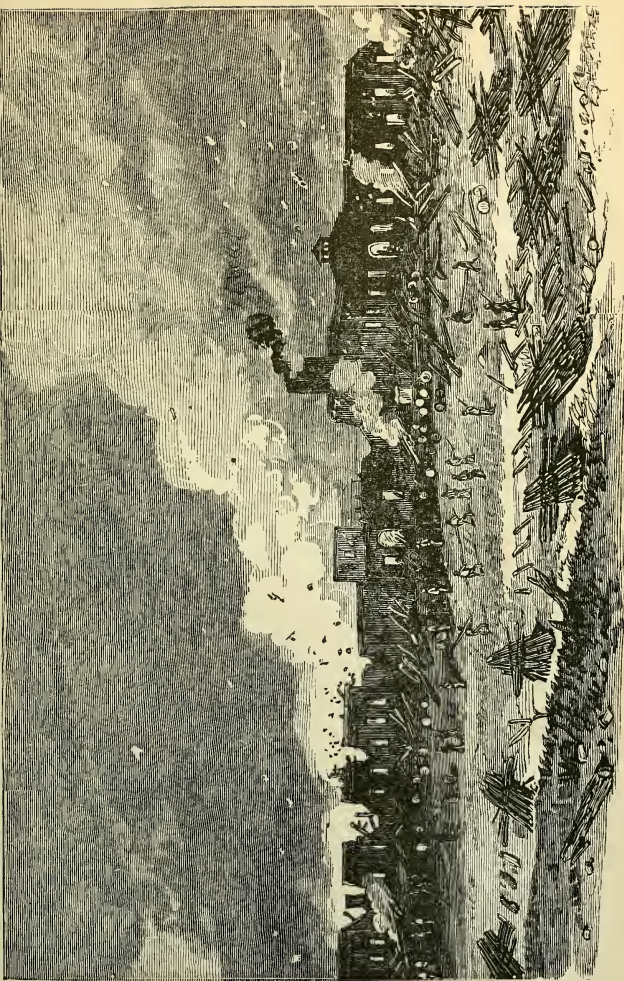
The veteran was overcome with gratitude and about to depart, when Mrs. Logan said: "Mr. —, you don't look well. Are you in need of anything?"

The soldier stopped, and said: "Well, to tell you the truth, madam, I feel weak because I have not eaten anything to-day. I have not been willing to give up, and leave without my pension, and I paid all I had yesterday for my lodging for two days more."

By this time General Logan was nervously fumbling in his vest pockets, and presently drew out a dollar, which he handed to the man, telling him in a husky voice to go and get some supper, and not to forget nine o'clock the next morning. His visitor took the money and went out crying like a child. The next day General Logan secured the man his pension. For fifteen years the Senator's life has been one round of scenes like this.

In January, 1872, when the proposition to extend national relief to Chicago, which early in the previous October had been destroyed by the memorable conflagration, was before Congress, Senator Logan delivered a speech in urgent support of the measure which embraces one of the most graphic descriptions of that indescribable calamity to be found in print. After detailing the circumstances of all the great fires known in history he turned to Chicago, and said:

Here a storm of fire, as if bursting from the heavens, which for fourteen weeks had been like brass above our heads, began its work in the southern and western portions of our city, and spreading out its arms of flame to the breadth of a mile and a half, swept east and northward for three miles and a half, devouring everything in its pathway. Its fury, fed by the hurri-



LOGAN'S CORPS BURNING THE RAILROAD AT EAST POINT, GA.

cane which commenced blowing about this time, as if to lend a hand in the work of destruction, caused the sea of fire to roll on with an impetuosity that no human power could withstand. Engines and all their accompanying appliances were of no more avail than human effort would be to stay the waves of the mighty ocean. The flames, as though amused at the efforts, would sweep through the buildings around them and shoot out their red banners from the windows and roofs behind them as tokens of victory. Leaping from house to house, and often with mighty strides vaulting over an entire block as *avant-couriers* of the host which followed behind, the very flames, as if conscious, seemed to revel in their work of devastation and ruin. The imagination of the superstitious at that time needed but slight impulse to look upon them as fiery demons sent upon us as a scourge. But while often passing by holes and sinks of iniquity, they swept with exultation along the sacred aisles of the churches, coiling like huge red serpents around the ascending spires, shooting out their fiery tongues from the summit. Now a tall spire of flame would shoot up with a vivid glow from some lofty edifice, quivering for a moment in the rising whirlpool, then, sweeping down before a fresh blast of wind, it would dash with wild fury against another building, apparently consuming it at one stroke.

The fierce hurricane drew the fiery billows through the narrow alleys with a shrill, unearthly screech, dashing into every opening, like an invisible incendiary, its brands kindling each into a blaze with unerring certainty. The sheets of flame, as they burst forth from the windows, eaves, and roofs, leaping upward through the heavy masses of smoke, literally flapped and cracked in the wind like the sails of vessels in a storm.

Mr. President, it was a deeply interesting yet melancholy sight to behold the magnificent stone and marble structures bravely resisting the fiery assaults which were made upon them. The flames gathered around them to the front and the rear, to the right and left, yet they stood up majestically as if defying the enemy, their walls rosy and their numerous windows bright with the reflected glare. But the red surging waves, as if maddened

by the resistance they met, rushed to the attack with redoubled fury, and soon fiery banners hung out from every aperture, and twisted columns of smoke ascended from all parts. The giants were conquered, and reeling and tumbling before the fell destroyer, soon lay but masses of blackened smoldering ruins, silent and melancholy monuments of the former greatness of the "Prairie Queen of the West."

The sun descended behind the huge clouds of smoke like a burning globe, and rose again, and still the rolling sea of flame rushed onward unchecked. The tempest tore huge fragments from the roofs and swept them like floating islands of fire through the sky, and the distant quarters where they fell were instantly wrapped in flame. The very stones were often calcined or split into fragments by the intense heat; the metallic roofs and coverings were rolled together like scrolls of parchment; iron, glass, and metallic substances were in many instances melted as though they had been submitted to the flames produced by some stupendous blow-pipe.

It would be in vain, Mr. President, for me to attempt to describe the wild confusion and despair of the terror-stricken inhabitants. I have been amid the battle-roar where armies a hundred thousand strong were struggling in fierce conflict for victory; where the smoke of the combat rose in heavy clouds above us; where the dead and dying lay thick on every side; but never yet have I beheld such a scene of despair and wild confusion as this; and may God grant that I shall never see the like again! The people were mad with fright. Wherever there appeared to be a place of safety, thither they rushed in hundreds and thousands to escape the death which threatened them on every side. Seized with a wild panic, immense crowds surged backward and forward in the streets, struggling, threatening, and imploring to get free and escape to the van. Here one, frenzied with despair, as often as snatched from the flames would rush elsewhere into the burning caldron; there another, seeing all he possessed on earth reduced to ashes, would sink down in hopeless despair. At other points hundreds could be seen rushing to the lake shore, every other retreat having been cut off, and

even here, pressed by the heat, smoke, and showers of firebrands, they plunged into the water as the only hope of escape.

To attempt to paint the scene in all its true and horrible colors would be in vain ; all was confusion, tumult, and wild despair. Chicago was in ruins. Twenty-six hundred acres of ashes marked the site of its former greatness ; twenty thousand houses were reduced to embers ; one hundred and ten thousand people were rendered homeless ; \$200,000,000 worth of property had served as food for the flames.

Behold the spectacle ! Can any one, having witnessed this sad scene, do less than plead for the ruined city ?

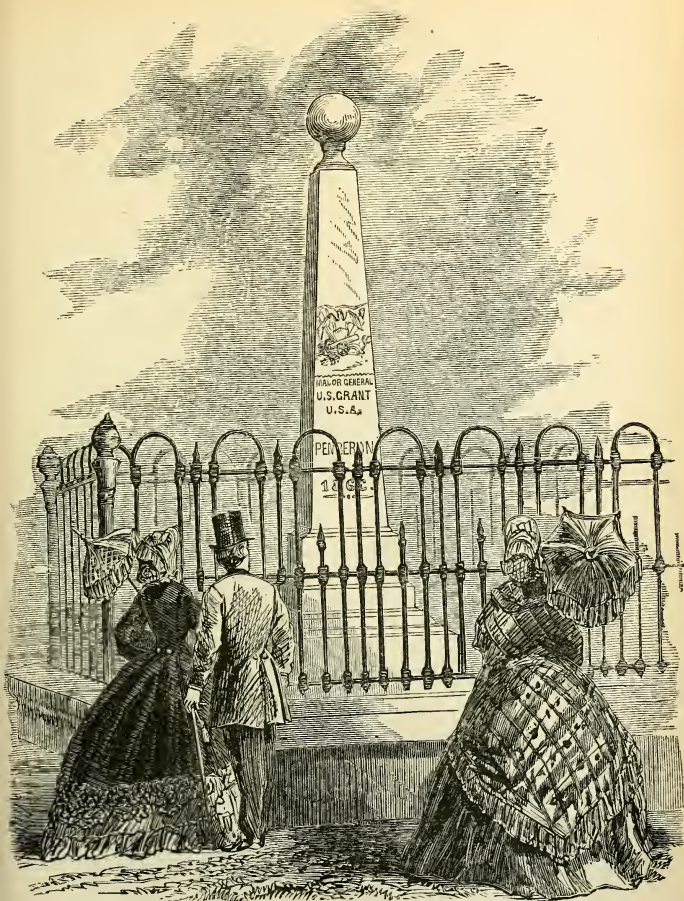
In May, 1872, Senator Sumner made his famous attack upon President Grant, aiming to defeat the latter's re-nomination. Few events in the political history of the past twenty years have been in a greater degree the subject of discussion than this. Much has been written and said in explanation of the course of the Massachusetts Senator ; but the most simple reason for Mr. Sumner's attitude is probably the best. He simply did not like General Grant, and never did, except as a soldier. The men were radically different. Sumner was one of those who maintained that a genius of a different order was necessary in a statesman from that which made a great captain. He was a firm believer in the scholastic politician, and he could not comprehend the grand simplicity of a man like Grant, who, though endowed with a wonderful fund of knowledge in affairs of statecraft, was so unpretentious as to cut a sorry figure when brought into comparison with the collegians whom Mr. Sumner regarded as embodying the prerequisite accomplishments for an incumbent of the White House. Add to this, an intolerance of opposition and a dogmatism of opinion which submitted to no question, and we have a cast of character which naturally found vent in the unwarranted assault upon the President. Logan, then one of the younger

Senators in point of service, sprang eloquently to the defense of his old commander, in a speech which for fire and cogency has rarely been equaled in the presence of that august body. He awakened a sentiment which swept over the country with irresistible force, when he said :

* * * * If he [Sumner] was the architect and builder of the Republican party, he is a great master-workman—its dome so beautifully rounded, its columns so admirably chiseled, and all its parts so admirably prepared, and builded together so smoothly and so perfectly that the mechanism charms the eye of every one who has ever seen it ! Since the Senator has performed such a great work, I appeal to him to know why it is that he attempts to destroy the workmanship of his own hands ? But let me give him one word of advice. While he may think, Samson-like, that he has the strength to carry off the gates and the pillars of the temple, let me tell him when he stretches forth his arm to cause the pillars to reel and totter beneath this fabric, there are thousands and thousands of true-hearted Republicans who will come up to the work, and, stretching forth their strong right arms, say, “Stay thou there; these pillars stand beneath this mighty fabric of ours, within which we all dwell ; it is the ark of our safety and shall not be destroyed.” [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

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I say to the Senator from Massachusetts, that while he has struck this blow, as he believes a heavy one, on the head of the political prospects of General Grant, he has made him friends by the thousand, strong ones too, that were merely lukewarm yesterday. He has aroused the spirit of this land, that cannot be quelled. He has in fact inflamed the old war spirit in the soldiery of the country. He has aroused the feeling of indignation in every man that warmed his feet by a camp-fire during the war. He has sent through this land a thrill which will return to him in such a manner and with such force as will make him feel it. For myself, I will say that I have sat quietly here for months, and



MONUMENT ERECTED WHERE GRANT AND PEMBERTON MET TO ARRANGE
THE CAPITULATION OF VICKSBURG.



had not intended to say anything: I had no argument to make, intending to await the nomination of the Philadelphia Convention, be it Grant or be it whom it might, believing, however, it would be Grant; but when I heard these vile slanders hurled like javelins against the President of the United States, it aroused a feeling in my breast which has been aroused many times before. I am now ready to buckle on my armor and am ready for the fray, and from now until November next to fight this battle in behalf of an honest man, a good soldier, and a faithful servant. [Applause in the galleries.]

The Presiding Officer—The galleries must preserve order.

Mr. Logan—And I tell the Senator from Massachusetts, that if the voice of patriots was loud enough to reach the tombs of the dead and sainted heroes who now lie fattening Southern soil, their voices would be heard repudiating in solemn sounds the slanders which have been poured out against their chieftain and the patriot warrior of this country. You will hear a response to this everywhere. As I said the other day, it will be heard from one end of this land to the other. The lines of blue-coats that were arrayed upon the hill-tops and along the valleys, with burnished bayonets ready for the fight, the same men, although they have divested themselves of their battle-array, yet retain their warlike spirit burning in their bosoms. They will respond to this challenge; they will say to the eloquent Senator from Massachusetts, "You have thrown down the glove and we will take it up." I tell the Senator he will find a response in his own State that will not give his slumberings much quiet. He will find a response everywhere. The people of this country will not see a man sacrificed to vile calumny.

In 1873, Senator Logan secured legislation prohibiting the sale of guns or ammunition to the Indians, declaring that the practice of supplying the savages with fire-arms by the traders was the prime cause of our disastrous frontier wars, resulting in the butchery of settlers at periodic outbreaks of hostilities.

That year he delivered the oration before the Army of the Tennessee, at the annual meeting of the Society, at Toledo,

giving a masterly review of the history and exploits of the organization in the field.

In 1874 he did yeoman service on the stump, as usual, in Illinois and other States. On the Fourth of July he made a departure from the ordinary political speech with a grand oration at Clinton, Ill., taking for his topic "Liberty and Equality." It was a scholarly effort of wide scope, in which he briefly traced the history and growth of Republican government from the earliest times to the present. At one place he said :

The history of nations in the past shows us very clearly that, as a general rule, danger chiefly lies in the direction of concentration of power, because it renders the prize more desirable, and increases the anxiety and efforts to obtain it. As a nation increases in numbers, wealth, and power, if at the same time the wealth and power is gravitating toward a central point or into the control of a few, there will, as a natural consequence, be an increase in the efforts and desire to obtain the commanding positions and control the wealth, and in like ratio will be the increase of unscrupulous schemes and corrupt efforts to succeed ; and this, unless checked, must finally end in the destruction of liberty.

Happily with us, the right of franchise and the use of the ballot-box in the hands of the people forms the great and wholesome check upon such a tendency and such efforts. Here lies the palladium of our liberties, which it is our duty, my fellow-citizens, to guard with an argus eye. Let this bulwark once be broken down, and soon every vestige of our Republican institutions will be rooted out, and liberty will be a word known only as of the past.

In 1876 occurred Logan's famous tilt with the rebel brigadiers in the Senate. It was during a two days' speech in answer to assaults upon Grant and Sheridan, the latter having incensed the leaders of the Southern anarchists by denomi-

nating the White-Leaguers of Louisiana "banditti." In the course of his speech, he said :

Sir, I ask you what Governor Kellogg was to do after that horrible scene at Colfax ; after the taking possession of five persons at Coushatta—Northern men, who had gone there with their capital and invested it and built up a thriving little village, but who were taken out and murdered in cold blood ; and not only that, but they had murdered one of the judges and the district attorney, and compelled the judge and district attorney of that jurisdiction to resign, and then murdered the acting district attorney. My friend from Georgia [Mr. Gordon] said in his way and manner of saying things, "Why do you not try these people for murdering those men at Coushatta? You have the judge and you have the district attorney." Unfortunately for my friend's statement, we have neither. Your friends had murdered the attorney, and had murdered a judge before the new judge had been appointed, who had to resign to save his life. The acting district attorney was murdered by the same "banditti" that murdered the five Northern men at Coushatta.

Here Senator Gordon, of Georgia, asked, "Where was the United States Court at that time? Where was the Enforcement Act? Where was the Army of the United States? Could not the United States Court, under the Enforcement Act, take cognizance of these facts? Was the District Attorney of the United States not present?"

"I will inform the Senator where they were," retorted Logan. "The district attorney was in his grave, put there by your political friends. The judge had been murdered a year before. The one appointed in his place had to resign to save his life. The United States Court was in New Orleans. And he asks where was the United States army? Great God! do you want the army? I thought you had been railing at its use."

To this Gordon responded: "He has made the charge ;

I ask him to make it good or to withdraw it—one of the two.”

Logan settled the controversy with the defiant response: “Ah, well, the Senator need not commence talking to me about withdrawing; I am not of that kind.”

Proceeding with his merciless excoriation of the Southerners, he said:

I am glad that I gave the Senator an opportunity to repeat what he had said before. It only shows the feeling that there is in the heart. Sometimes when we have said hard and harsh things against a fellow-man, when we have cooling time we retract. If, after we have had cooling time, the bitterness of our heart only impels us to repeat it again, it only shows that there is deep-seated feeling there which cannot be uprooted by time. I gave the opportunity to the Senator to make his renewed attack on Sheridan. I will now say what I did not say before,—since he has repeated his remarks,—that his attack upon Sheridan, and his declaration that Sheridan is not fit to breathe the free air of a republic, is an invitation to the White-Leaguers to assassinate him. If he is not fit to breathe the free air, he is not fit to live. If he is not fit to live, he is but fit to die. It is an invitation to them to perpetrate murder upon him.

Now let me go further. I announce the fact here in this Chamber to-day, and I defy contradiction, that the Democracy in this Chamber have denounced Sheridan more since this dispatch was published than they ever denounced Jeff. Davis and the whole rebellion during four years' war against the Constitution of this country. I dislike much to say these things; but they are true, and as truth ought not to hurt, I will say them.

During this debate the galleries were hushed with suppressed excitement, in expectation that the fiery brigadiers would resort to violence, but they knew the metal of their man too well to attempt to stop him by unparliamentary methods.



LOGAN'S TROOPS ASSAULTING THE REBEL WORKS AT MILL CREEK.



In 1876 General Logan made an eloquent opposition to the clause in the Indian Appropriation Bill which proposed to transfer the charge of Indian affairs to the army.

The various executive departments at Washington are continually reaching out to extend their jurisdiction. Thus the Navy Department every year wants to absorb three or four bureaus, which are at present under the Secretary of the Treasury, and the War Department has long been in a chronic state of hunger for the administration of the affairs of the Indian Bureau.

Senator Logan opposed this policy, characterizing it as one that would result admirably if the extermination of the Indians was desired, but if it was the aim and duty of the Government to civilize and Christianize them, it would prove an utter failure. He said :

Sir, I have been a soldier many years of my life, and I love the position of a soldier. I was fond of it when I belonged to the army, but my belonging to the army never changed my education so far as governmental affairs were concerned. I have learned from history, by my reading from my childhood, that the downfall of governments was by putting power in military hands. I have learned that republics must and can only be maintained by civil authority, not by military.

Put the Indian Department under the War Department, then the Pension Bureau next, then the Land Office next, then abolish the Interior Department next, and then we have got one-fourth of the Government under the charge of the military, and thus a long step taken towards the resumption of military authority in this country. Remember the voices of Clay and Webster, of the great statesmen in this land, against the usurpations and inroads of military authority. It is a lesson that might well be learned now by men who are pluming themselves that they are becoming great statesmen. Sir, it is a lesson to be learned by the rising and future generations ; for the time will never come that you will satisfy the honest people of this

country by making them believe that they are not fit for civil government. I warn now the party that undertakes this step in politics as well as in civilization and the advance of Christianity in this country; I warn the man of his future who does it; for there is not an honest Christian in this land, be he of whatever politics he may, who does not abhor the idea of military government. He believes in peaceful means in bringing about civilization, and is willing to undertake it, and do not deprive him of the opportunity.

It will be remembered that the bill failed.

In 1876 General Logan was talked of very generally for the Presidency of the United States. In fact, it is not generally known, but it is true that when the deadlock occurred at the Cincinnati Convention, he might have had the nomination, had not a fine sense of honor prompted him to refuse the use of his name. He had not entered the lists before the Convention, and the Illinois delegation had been instructed for Blaine. Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll had presented the name of Mr. Blaine, covering himself with glory as an orator, and giving the Maine statesman the title of "The Plumed Knight." New York had presented the name of her distinguished Senator, Roscoe Conkling, and when it appeared that Mr. Blaine would be nominated, the friends of the rival candidates offered to unite on Logan, but, true to his trust, he refused to allow it to be done, or in all human probability a stampede, such as occurred at Chicago in 1880, would have laid the honor at his feet. As it was, Hayes was the result.

The Republicans losing control of the State Legislature in 1876, a combination of Democrats and Independents secured the election of David Davis to the United States Senate, to succeed General Logan, and for two years he returned to his long neglected business in Chicago, where he has resided since the war.

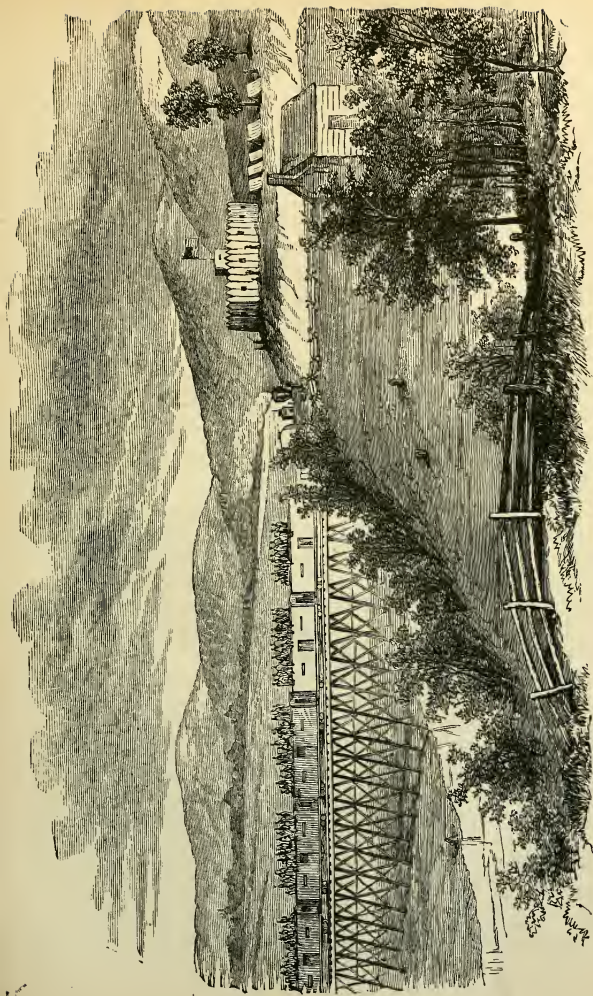
Just before his return to the Senate, the bill for which he had labored for years, to pay the disabled soldiers the arrearages of pensions due them, was passed. This beneficent measure had long received his ardent support, as had his bill to equalize soldiers' bounties, the passage of which he had secured once by both branches of Congress, but from which President Grant felt called upon to withhold his approval.

Having voted for the Inflation Bill in response to the imperative demand for it on the part of the people of his State, his position upon financial questions has been somewhat misunderstood, in spite of the fact that he gave the most hearty support to the "Resumption Act." It will not be out of place, therefore, to again allow him to speak for himself in the words of his oration, at Van Wert, Ohio, Sept. 2, 1879. Said he on this occasion :

The Democrats and Greenbackers say that the Republican party don't understand the nature of our Greenback currency, and they propose to take charge of it themselves, and see that the people are posted. When the Greenbacks were first issued some people said they were worthless rags, etc. Now, however, they so love them that they are determined to have them strewn out of the window of the Treasury with a pitchfork, so that any one can have as many as he wants; and, strange to say, whenever we speak of the opposition to the Greenback in former days, and the affection for them now, the Democracy think we are shooting at them. [Laughter.] Their conduct in this particular reminds me of a friend who refused to attend church for many years, because, he said, the minister preached politics. One Sabbath, however, he was prevailed on to go with a lady relative. During the sermon the minister quoted the language, "The wicked shall be turned into hell, with all the nations that forget God." This gentleman left the church at once. When the lady relative returned to his house, she inquired why he left church.

He said he would not listen to a political sermon. The lady replied, "I did not hear any politics." He replied, "Did he not say 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, with all the Nations that forget God'?" The lady replied, "Yes, but what of that?" "Why," said he, "if he did not mean the Democratic party, who the devil did he mean?" [Prolonged laughter.] Now I do not want my Democratic and Greenback friends to get themselves so mixed that they will not understand who is meant. [Laughter.] But, my friends, the Greenback proposed to-day by our opponents—the fiat currency, without the promise of the Government to pay—is not the Greenback of the Republican party. The Greenback of the Republican party is the one that contains the pledge and good faith of the Government as to the volume to be issued; it is the one that contains a promise to pay; the one that the Supreme Court says is an obligation of the Government to pay in coin of the United States of a quantity and fineness authenticated by the stamp of the Government. This is our Greenback, and we have kept every pledge of the Government in connection with it. My countrymen, the Republican Greenback came forth amid storm and confusion, with a promise upon its face, and the hope and faith of the Nation bearing it along to the performance of a great work, and, in obedience to our legislation, on the 1st day of January last, it walked to the foot of the hill, and there, standing in the presence of the gold and silver which glistened upon its summit, did say, "I am here in accordance with the promise of the Republican party, that I shall be made equal in value with coin of a metallic ring, and I demand that it be done"—and it has been done. [Great applause.]

Now, my friends, let us glance for a moment at the basis upon which rests the whole theory of what is called the Greenback creed; improperly so called, however, as the Greenback belongs to the Republican party by patent right, and the use of its name in designation of a spurious article is as unwarranted as it is dishonest. The basis of the Greenback creed, that which underlies the main structure, as well as its various wings and additions,—and this, too, whether promulgated in the platforms of the National party or the Democratic party, or in their cam-



STOCKADE FORT AT CHATTAHOOCHEE BRIDGE, BETWEEN CHATTANOOGA AND ATLANTA.



paigned documents, or by their speakers on the stump,—is the simple assertion that a government has the power to create money. Now you will observe that there is a broad distinction between the creation of actual or real money and the creation of representative money. Governments can create representative money, and every civilized government of the world probably does so at this day. But mark the difference between real money and representative money. Real money is something which has an exchangeable value among all commercial nations, and long usage has constituted the precious metals the materials of which it shall be made.

Representative money is something which represents real money. Gold and silver are the metals which, by universal consent, are used as the standards of value. And being so recognized, they have an inherent worth—that is, the value lies within the thing itself. Now paper, not being the standard of value, has no inherent worth, no matter what devices may be printed or engraved upon it. And when governments issue notes for convenience of handling and safety against loss by robbery, etc., they can only have a value in so far as they represent the recognized standard of value. Take that standard from behind them and they are only bits of paper. Hence you see it is impossible to create money out of nothing. A man may give you his note of hand, promising to pay a certain sum by a certain date, but his note is valuable to you only as it represents an ability and disposition to pay that which is recognized as money by your neighbors and will be taken by them in exchange for articles which you need. But the Greenback theory proposes to take away the representative character of the bill or note entirely, and declare that a certain piece of paper is a dollar *de facto*. They declare that the fiat of the Government is potent to give inherent value to a thing which the world around us has said possesses none. Of all the schemes for an inflated currency which have ever been originated by the nations of the past and present generations, this has the least merit and safety under it. Even the South-Sea bubble, which involved such wide-spread ruin, as well as the assignat heresy of after-years, had each a representative

value to commend them to the people. But our friends of the irredeemable Greenback persuasion have such faith in the power of the Government to do anything it chooses, that they believe if it puts a declaration upon a piece of blank paper like this, for a thousand dollars, it must be so. Divinity itself could scarcely go further.

My friends, I could make this thing so perfectly ridiculous, if I desired to take your time, that it would be very laughable ; but I will not.

I will, however, say right here, that if we all desire to be honest, one with another, the way to be honest is to demand honesty of the Government. Let your Government be honest, and let your citizens be honest. Learn to adopt the same rule. Then if you want to be honest, have honest money, and you will have honest dealings. Let your money have a fixed value, whether gold, silver, or paper ; let it all be of the same value, having the same purchasing power, and then nobody will be cheated. Whenever you make money not redeemable in coin, or whenever you make it of any character not having a standard purchasing power, you cheat somebody. Any person who holds such a dollar, when the time comes to make a change—to make its value equal with others of higher value—is defrauded, because the holder has something which is then worth less in money, or which has not the full value of a dollar, so that somebody must be cheated.

It reminds me a good deal of an old farmer who had studied finance for years. When this Greenback question came up in Congress, he wrote to his Representative, stating that he had been a Democrat, and a Whig, and everything, and had studied all the systems of finance. Said he, "I have been a hard-money Democrat,"—just like all those Democrats have been,— "then I got to be a soft-money Democrat,"—just like most of our Democrats have got to be ; "but," said he, "after trying that awhile, to write you the plain, honest truth, I have come to the conclusion that the only way to have a dollar is to have a hundred cents in it, and then nobody is cheated." [Laughter.] And that is the only way. Three pecks of wheat

never made a bushel in the world, and the man that buys three pecks for a bushel is cheated always. So it is with your money. Eighty cents never was a dollar; eighty-five cents never was a dollar; and ninety cents never was. It takes one hundred cents to make a dollar in either paper currency, silver, or gold.

General Logan was re-elected to the United States Senate November 22, 1879, and being called upon to address the joint convention of the Legislature, closed his speech with the following categorical definition of his position upon the public questions of the day :

My friends, we now see our country again beginning to march on the road of prosperity. There are certain things we should all stand by and insist upon.

First. That specie resumption must be maintained—honest money alike for the poor and the rich. [Cheers.]

Second. That provisions should be made to forever bar claims against the Government—of any and all persons not positively and openly favoring the Union—for damages, supplies taken, etc., during the rebellion.

Third. That every citizen owes to his Government his best efforts for its protection and preservation against foreign and domestic enemies, and that the Government is bound to give such protection as it can to its citizens on land and sea, at home and abroad; and when political rights are guaranteed under our Constitution, there should be no distinction made—those guaranteed to one being as sacred as those guaranteed to another—between white or black, rich or poor, in Illinois or South Carolina. [Cheering.] And where the authorities of a State are powerless, or where they refuse to protect citizens or communities against armed mobs while attempting to exercise such political rights as have been granted them, it is the duty of the Government to use such power as it possesses to protect these citizens in the exercise of such rights.

These propositions I propose to stand by, come what will. [Cheers.]

The revolutionary methods resorted to by the Democratic party in the latter days of the Forty-fifth Congress are well remembered, although the object of its failure to make the necessary appropriations for the support of the army and judiciary of the country may not be so well understood. It was simply this: For the first time in the history of the country since the war, the Democrats at the fall elections had gained possession of both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. They had made a complete capture of the legislative branch of the National Government, and impelled by a political starvation of more than fifteen years' duration, they decided to leave no measure untried to hasten their early enjoyment of the spoils of patronage. The two Houses of Congress have offices to give away to their partisan friends, worth in the aggregate several hundred thousand dollars annually. Should Congress adjourn after having made the regular appropriations, the Democratic Senate would not reorganize until the regular time of meeting in the ensuing December, and during the intervening time the Republican employees would draw their pay for the summer vacation. A special session of the Forty-sixth Congress was therefore made necessary. The Republicans in appointive positions at the Capitol, who still maintained positions, were ousted, and every position, from page up to the Secretary of the Senate, was filled by a Democrat in place of a discharged Republican. This petty reason for the revolutionary policy resorted to in the Forty-fifth Congress may well evoke surprise on account of the paltry consideration to be gained. The fact can be clearly substantiated, however, that the motive indicated above was the overpowering reason which brought about the called session of the Forty-sixth Congress.

Some pretext was essential, however, to cloak the real object in view, and to supply this want allegations of Federal usur-



A DOG FOUND GUARDING A DEAD SOLDIER ON THE FIELD IN FRONT OF ATLANTA.



pations in the Southern States were trumped up. Wrongs were pictured, the redress of which was demanded. Instead of "State Rights," "Home Rule" was the cause for which the plea was made, and to secure which, the course of the Democrats was justified by their partisans. The fact was that the alleged wrongs were a myth and a shallow pretense, which was not suffered to go unchallenged. They proposed to bring about the alleged reforms by means of amendments to necessary bills.

The great fight took place over the Army Appropriation Bill. In this discussion Senator Logan made a most scathing criticism of the revolutionary nature of the attempt by the Democrats to coerce the Executive into approval of obnoxious riders upon appropriation bills upon the penalty of withholding appropriations unless their demands were complied with. In the course of a speech upon the bill, General Logan said :

I cannot but regard the question which has arisen from this first move of the Democratic party upon their re-establishment in power looking to the grasping of the Government, as absolutely the most important as well as the most vital question which has presented itself as a menace to our Government since the year 1861, when the same sentiment, as well as many of the same men, aimed a blow at the integrity of the country. * * *

The people are the sovereigns of our country, and that measure which cannot go before them on its merits and abide the time and manner of their decision is weak, probably bad, and almost certainly in the interest of the few as against the interest of the many. Look for a moment, sir, at the history of this measure, which proposes legislation of the most radical character. At no period of its history has it appeared in the form of independent legislation. Originally introduced into the last House when the Senate was Republican in its majority, the evident purpose was to compel the Senate's acquiescence in a proposition which, as a measure appealing to their judgment and sense of

right, they could not indorse. Now that the majority of the Senate has become Democratic, it is again before Congress with the expectation that the Senate in passing it will assist in influencing the last obstacle to its success—the Presidential scrutiny. Plainly enough this course implies compulsion ; unusual and unrecognized methods of accomplishment, as well as fear to abide by the test of inherent merit. Note the violent circumstances, so to speak, under which it was forced upon the last Congress : parliamentary rules providing that no legislation should be affixed to appropriation bills unless not only germane to the subject, but likewise retrenching in character, must be overridden, rendered useless and nugatory, in order to force this character of legislation upon the country. I have no desire to criticise the purposes of any legislator in the discharge of his functions, but I draw attention to this point as tending to show the determination to consummate this piece of proposed legislation against time, against argument, against the co-operative branches of the Government, and against the people, who, it must be presumed, are not to be trusted with the decision of this question.

Now, sir, I say the methods by which this legislation is attempted are bad upon their face, and argue in convincing terms against its propriety. * * *

Our Government is one of co-ordinate powers which have mutual duties, independent responsibilities, and separate checks one upon the other. If one branch of the Government takes away the freedom of action of the others, it usurps the powers, privileges, and functions of the whole. Now, sir, this constitutes coercion of the boldest, rankest kind. The measure being coercive is certainly against the spirit of the Constitution, and, being so, is revolutionary to the last degree. The logic of this conclusion is so inevitable as to permit no outlet for escape. In the debate which has taken place on this bill, instances were adduced in sufficient number to show most convincingly how either House of Congress, by a refusal to perform its constitutionally prescribed duties, or by performing them in a manner not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution, might disrupt the Government as effectually as though accomplished by sword and gun, and the

illustration might have been carried much further, which I will not take the time of the Senate in doing. The example, sir, of other governments—even if they correspond in essential points of resemblance to our own, and those examples which have been heretofore cited by the supporters of this measure do not so correspond—would afford no salutary precedent for our own procedure. Why? Because the constitution and genius of our governmental fabric are so entirely different as to furnish no precise points of correspondence from which to draw parallel illustrations. Being purely a Government of consentaneous powers in its legislative and executive features, the moment the free agency of one of the elements is interfered with, that moment is violence done to the genius of the structure, and that moment is the ideal of republican government dissolved and hidden in the dark shadows of a government by force. The principle may live, sir, but the tangible essence will vanish. Now, sir, if the legitimacy of the principle of compelling one or two branches of the Government to yield to the other that free agency which constitutes one of the beauties and safeguards of the Republic be firmly established, then it is but a simple question of time and incident as to the precise period when the Government will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks, and the American may exclaim with the Roman General, “Actum est de republica” (“It is all over with the republic”).

This destruction will not come of necessity from the action contemplated in this bill; it will not this year, nor probably the next; but year by year encroachments will be made in this direction and in that direction; first one safeguard will be overturned and then another; to-day we shall have a statute repealed by indirect methods, and next year we may have the provisions of the Constitution itself subverted by the simple action of one branch of the National Government.

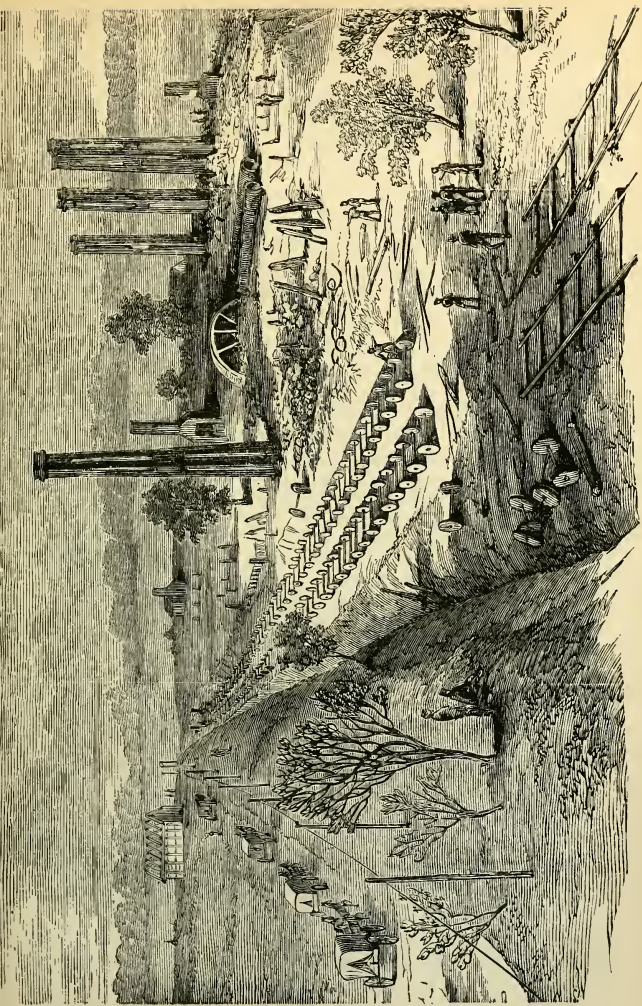
He showed by unimpeachable records that elections were a mockery in most of the Southern States, and that the count and return bore little or no relation to the ballots cast for the opposing candidates. He warned the Southern people against

this system of public corruption, and predicted an anarchy which would inevitably follow sooner or later if this policy should be persisted in.

In conclusion, he said :

The Republican party want peace ; they have shown it by every concession which honor and dignity would permit ; they will still sacrifice much to obtain a permanent peace ; but the Democracy may as well learn now as later that there are some things the Republicans will not do to reach a peace which can but be dishonorable to them and to the country. They will not abjectly beg upon their knees for peace. They will not relinquish any of those advanced principles which have inured to the Government and the people through the sufferings of the war. They will never abandon the principles enunciated in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. They will never permit a modification of the rights of the four million blacks of the South. They, after having been liberated from slavery and elevated to the full rights of citizenship, shall not be remanded to a condition as bad as or worse than serfdom or peonage. They will never, never quietly permit, sir, the elective franchise, upon the purity of which rests our whole political structure, to be dispensed at the hands of hired ruffians and paid assassins.

Now, sir, let me invite the Democracy to a peace which shall be coextensive with the whole limits of our country ; which shall be honorable to them and honorable to us ; which shall be lasting as the American name ; which shall elevate us in the estimation of all the nations, and stamp our Government as a model for all other peoples for a thousand centuries—a peace which must be built upon genuine ties of respect between citizens of a common country ; which must rest upon the concession of equal rights to all citizens of the Republic, be they white or black, foreign or native born—a peace which must know no State lines for abrogating the rights of citizens, but shall cluster around the American flag as the emblem of a patriotic and virtuous people united under a government strong enough to defy the monarchs of the



RUINS OF ROLLING MILL DESTROYED BY REBELS AT ATLANTA.

world and also protect its citizens in all their constitutional rights, 'on land and on sea, at home and abroad, leaving the great future of our glorious country clean, clear, and full, in the blazing sunlight of our hope.'

The startling array of facts disclosing the condition of political morals in the South, at a time when it was fondly hoped in many quarters that since the suppression of the Ku-Klux and their violent measures a better era had dawned in the lately rebellious States, created a profound sensation throughout the country. The newspapers everywhere were filled with encomiums of the ability and gallantry with which General Logan had handled an unpleasant question.

Out of this debate on the Army Appropriation Bill grew an incident in General Logan's life which has reflected lasting honor on his courage and good sense. On the 16th of the month, the Washington correspondent of the *Pittsburg Post* telegraphed to his paper an interview with Representative W. M. Lowe, of Alabama, who had been an officer in the rebel army. Smarting naturally under the arraignment of the Confederate Brigadiers by Senator Logan, he saw fit to revive the old slander reflecting upon Logan's loyalty at the outbreak of the war, which has been fully discussed in previous pages of this work. The dispatch in the *Pittsburg* papers ran as follows :

The grandeur of Logan's loyalty is dimmed a little by the following conversation, which occurred between your correspondent and Congressman Lowe, of Alabama, a Greenback Representative from the Huntsville District :

Correspondent.—“Are you sure, Colonel Lowe, that Senator Logan ever contemplated entering the Confederate service?”

Colonel Lowe.—“I am sure that there were three regiments of Illinois men in the Confederate service; that I fought through the war with them; that I knew and often conversed with many

of them, and that, without exception, those with whom I talked on the subject assured me that their regiments were raised by Logan for the Confederate service. Why, it is so true that Logan himself will not deny it if asked it upon the floor of the Senate. He will dodge the question. True? Why, I tell you I have talked with men whom I knew, and who declared that they were enlisted for the Confederate service by Logan."

Five days later, on the 21st of April, General Logan replied with an unqualified denial of the charge made by Lowe, and branded his assertions as false in the columns of the *National Republican*. After quoting the interview which is given above, he proceeded to say :

As to there being three regiments of Illinois men in the Confederate service, and that I raised them or any of them for the Confederate army, in defense of the honor of the State I in part represent, and of myself, I answer the statement is false. There were not three regiments in the Confederate service from Illinois, nor two, nor one; and that I ever raised a regiment or company, any part of a company, or had anything to do, either directly or indirectly, in raising men for such service, is maliciously and grossly false. And it is further stated in said dispatch that I raised men for the Confederate service, which statement [meaning that I raised men for the Confederate service] is as true that I would not deny the charge if made on the floor of the Senate," but that "I would dodge the question." I say "that I do not now nor have I ever dodged the question." The whole statement, so far as I am concerned, is a vile and malicious lie."

He supplemented this with a statement of the origin, history, and complete refutation of the charge, and concluded his letter thus :

I understand that Colonel Lowe claims that this is not a correct report of what he said to the reporter. If not, he should correct the statement, and make the reporter responsible for putting

a *lie* in his mouth. The statement I brand as *false and slanderous*, and Colonel Lowe and the reporter can settle it between themselves as to which one has been guilty of perpetrating this *villainous falsehood*.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

Colonel Lowe in return wrote a communication to the press, in which he quoted the last paragraph of General Logan's letter to the *Republican*, characterizing it as obnoxious to him as a gentleman. He proceeded to say that on the 21st of April he sent a note to General Logan, which ended thus :

This being the substance of my statement in said interview, I desire to know whether in your communication to the *Republican* this morning you apply the words "false and slanderous" to me.

(Signed)

WM. M. LOWE.

This will be handed to you by my friend, Charles Pelham, Esq.

(Signed)

WM. M. L.

He goes on to say that Judge Pelham, his friend, delivered this note to Senator Logan at his city residence on the morning of the 22d, and receiving no reply, he sent, on the morning of the 24th, another which stated the fact of his having sent the letter of the 21st, and repeating its substance, continued :

Having received no reply to that letter, I am forced to again call your attention to these offensive words, and to demand to know whether you apply them to me. My friend, Charles Pelham, Esq., is authorized to receive your reply.

Very respectfully,

(Signed)

WM. M. LOWE.

This note, Mr. Lowe said in his letter, was delivered to Senator Logan in the vestibule of the Senate Chamber on the afternoon of the day of date, and receiving still no response, he sent the following, which was delivered at three o'clock, P.M., April 25th :—

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 25, 1879.

HON. JOHN A. LOGAN.

SIR: On the 21st inst. you published in the *Republican* of this city a communication containing words personally reflecting upon me. I have twice addressed you a note calling attention to this language. You have failed and refused to answer either of them, and you thereby force me to the last alternative. I therefore demand that you name some time and place out of this District where another communication will presently reach you. My friend, Charles Pelham, Esq., is authorized to act in the premises.

Respectfully,
(Signed) WM. M. LOWE.

Mr. Lowe concluded his version of the affair as follows :

Thus ended this one-sided correspondence, which explains itself. It needs little or no comment from me. I will not brand John A. Logan as a liar, for he is a Senator of the United States ; I will not post him as a scoundrel and poltroon, for that would be a violation of the local statutes ; but I do publish him as one who knows how to insult but not how to satisfy a gentleman, and I invoke upon him the judgment of the honorable men of the community.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) WM. M. LOWE.

No sensation at the Capital for years attracted the attention throughout the country which was at once given to this episode. When the fact that Lowe had challenged Logan became known, some said that Logan, being a military man, would accept and fight him ; those who knew his history and were familiar with his character, never for a moment entertained the idea that he would adopt a course so contrary to his own judgment and in violation of the law and morals of the age. We have seen that when yet a young man, a member of his own State Legislature, he stigmatized a resort to the duello as



LOGAN'S BRASS NAPOLEONS SHELLING THE REBELS IN THE WOODS ON THE
MOVEMENT AROUND ATLANTA.

barbarous and offensive to the enlightenment of the day. He had made a bold effort to prevent the qualification for office by the Governor-elect, and in that connection had given full expression to his views on the subject. His course in the premises was exceedingly dignified and in sharp contrast with the bluster of the Southerner. General Logan held that a man who had deliberately lied about him, and then had nothing to say when asked for an explanation except the proposition of a bully, had forfeited his right to be treated as a gentleman, and he declined to pay the slightest attention to his letters, announcing to Lowe's friend, Judge Pelham, that he need not bring him any further missives of this character, as he would not receive them.

The people of his own State unanimously applauded his course, and a joint caucus of the Republican members of the Illinois Legislature adopted by acclamation the following :

Resolved, That we, the Republican members of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, in joint caucus assembled, heartily approve of the action of Senator Logan in his recent controversy with Representative Lowe. That, having heretofore demonstrated his courage on many a hard-fought battle-field, it is not now necessary for him to resort to the false and demoralizing duello code of the South to vindicate either his honor or his courage, and we recognize in the present attitude of Senator Logan a moral courage far higher and more commendable than any he could display in accepting a challenge or meeting his antagonist on any falsely-called field of honor.

The secular press of the country, without exception, gave great attention to this episode in General Logan's life, regarding it as a very important step in its effect upon public sentiment with reference to the duello. Naturally, the religious papers of the country heartily endorsed the manner in which

he bore himself—the *Christian Advocate* of May 1, 1879, having the following to say about it :

Lowe says, retract, fight, or be flogged ; but Logan does not obey orders with the slightest alacrity. He does not retract. He leaves Lowe and the reporter to wrangle about which one tells the lie. He does not fight. He does not even allow his stable-boy to run a foot-race with Lowe. He does not recognize Lowe's existence. He acts as if Lowe, having communicated a mean, slanderous crime beneath the possibilities of any gentleman, cannot be treated as a gentleman till he acts like one. The old bully and bludgeon business of the South with the cry of coward is unavailing. General Logan bears too many honorable scars for even his enemies to hint at cowardice. No man that ever heard of "Champion Hills" could believe such a hint. It only remains for Lowe to flog the General when he meets him on the street. But that is not an undertaking for boys. Possibly half a dozen of these bullying bulldogs might venture to assail him. Even that is not safe.

* * * * *

We are glad General Logan remembers that he is a Christian statesman and not a heathen prize-fighter or gladiator. He represents a Christian civilization. He is intrusted with the honor of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he cannot stoop to be insulted by any bully.

Another religious paper said :

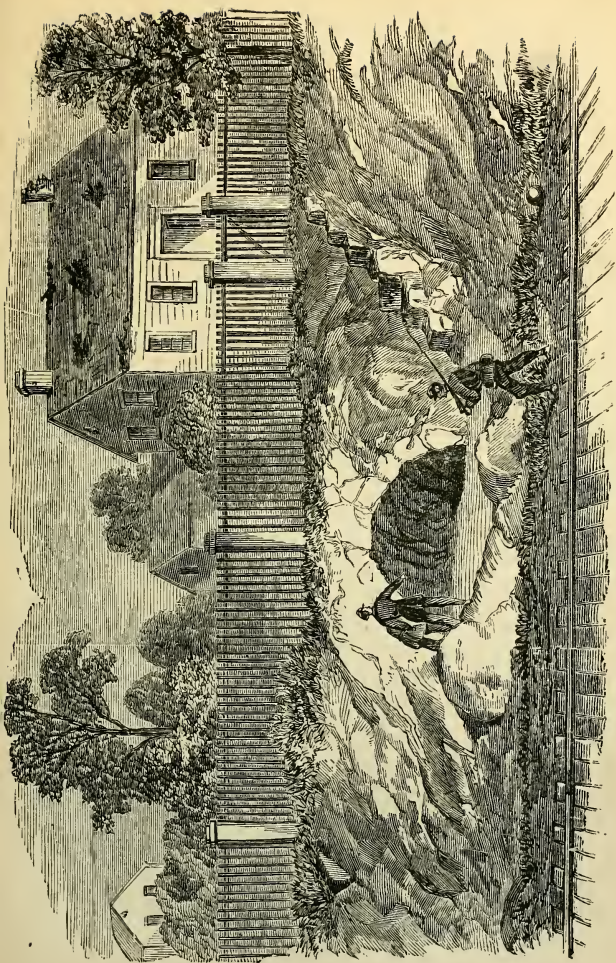
John A. Logan is a good Methodist and will not fight a duel, but he uses pretty strong language sometimes. When Mr. Lowe's "second" waited on Logan with a challenge, Logan refused to receive it, and said, "Go to hell with it! I will not even recognize the existence of your principal until he makes an abject apology"—to which we, with all the good Methodist brethren, say Amen.

Among the other revolutionary demands of the Democrats at the special session of the Forty-sixth Congress, was one to

deprive the United States Marshals of their power to enforce honest elections in the Southern States. They sought to effect their purpose by attaching a "rider" to the Appropriation Bill, which would accomplish the object, owing to the constitutional inability of the President to approve or disapprove any measure of Congress, excepting as a whole. It was well understood that the Democratic majority in the House, made up largely from the South, owed its existence to the processes to which their political managers in the Southern States had resorted in the count of the popular vote. In order to facilitate such transactions in the future, they proposed a clause to be inserted in the Appropriation Bill, for the direction of the United States Marshals, to the effect that no part of the money thereby appropriated should be used to pay any compensation, fees, or expenses under any provisions of the Revised Statutes then in force, authorizing the appointment, employment, and payment of special or deputy marshals for services in connection with registration or election on election day. They proposed, further, that no department or officer of the Government should, during the said fiscal year, make any contract or incur any liability for a future payment of money to any person for such services. For a violation of this law they provided a heavy fine and five years' imprisonment, or both; thus for the first time in the history of the Government offering not only to repeal the law in force, but to make its observance a penal offense.

General Logan at once took issue with the Democrats in this attitude of defiance to law and justice, and made a speech in support of his position which completely unhorsed the Democracy, exposing the prime motives at the bottom of their plan. In the course of his extensive discussion of the subject, he said :

You can find no such instance in the history of all the enactments of any government. It at least has been understood by us heretofore that it was the duty of peace-officers to see that the peace was preserved. It is their duty to see that the laws are obeyed and are faithfully executed. It is their duty to protect citizens and to make arrests where violence is used or where violations of the law are wantonly perpetrated. And yet we are told distinctly in this bill to-day that wherever peace is broken on election day you shall not restore it; that is to say, if the peace is kept, there is no necessity then for an attempt to keep it; but if the peace is not kept, then you shall make no more effort to keep it than if it were perfectly preserved; that is, the United States shall not do it. In other words, if a murder is about to be committed, it is all well enough to stop it; but if the life is to be preserved by an officer of the United States, it will be better to let the murder be committed. No marshal, no deputy-marshal, under any of these sections in title 26, shall enforce the law or protect the citizen against violence or in the exercise of a plain and constitutional duty. This, sir, is strange legislation indeed. It is even strange legislation for Democrats. It would be exceedingly strange legislation for Republicans. Why, sir, it would be strange legislation for the Fiji Islanders! We boast of our civilization; we boast of our country, of our institutions, of the freedom of thought, the freedom of speech, the free exercise of the rights of the citizen in this glorious land of ours. We say it is the freest land on earth, and we glory in the name of free America. Yet to-day you propose to place upon the statute books of the United States a declaration that the Government shall not enforce the law by one of its marshals for the purpose of protecting its citizens and keeping the peace. I did not know that we were running at railroad speed into nullification and anarchy, and against the peace and good order of society. Why, sir, soon we will be in the very midst of confusion and disobedience to law, in the very midst of violence and tumult, the abridgment of rights and the destruction of great and fundamental principles. The nullification and disobedience



BOMB-PROOF MADE BY CITIZENS OF ATLANTA.

of law is one of the first steps in the direction of disintegration and dissolution.

Such legislation is calculated to bring our country and our laws into disrepute and make us a laughing-stock in the eyes of the civilized nations of the earth.

I do not know whether this bill is to become a law or not. If so, I can only characterize it as surpassing all attempts that have yet been made by any Congress since this Government was formed, to show an utter determination to defy the laws—to nullify them by legislation. In other words, it is a rebellious spirit and act against the enforcement of the laws. That is the least you can make out of it.

I tell Senators that this legislation will come home to plague the inventors very soon. You may imagine that in your wisdom in these halls, where statesmanship ought to dwell, you have managed and manipulated so that the country will sustain you in that which you have done; but I tell you, when the people understand that you have torn down every guarantee to the protection of their rights at the ballot-box; that you have disarmed the President of the United States and destroyed a portion of his power; that you have refused appropriations to exercise that authority for the purpose of protecting the peace of the people at the polls; and then by a second law you have demanded that no civil officer shall enforce the laws under the mandates of the courts or under the orders of the Executive of the United States for the purpose of keeping the peace in this country—when they understand that, you will find, even among the hot-bloods in this country, even among the people who think they ought to be exasperated on account of some imaginary offense perpetrated against them, even among the people who may think they are maltreated and much abused in every respect, and that their rights are trampled under foot—even among this class of unthinking people, in their sober moments, they will never agree to any such proposition as this; but they will say to you, “The theory of our Government is that the Constitution shall be obeyed; that the laws made in pursuance thereof shall be executed; that if the laws are bad laws they shall be repealed; but

until they are repealed no party has a right to nullify them and deny their enforcement."

Sir, the idea that American citizens shall deny any authority for the enforcement of the laws is a theory never taught by the statesmen of this land before. It has never been taught by your Clays, your Websters, and your leading men. Revolution may have been taught, but there is a difference between revolution and nullifying a law. Where people may believe that oppression is bearing them down, and they undertake to throw off the yoke or throw off the laws by revolution, it is very different from denying the power of the Government to enforce the laws that they themselves enact and are required to observe. The very laws that you yourselves have taken an oath to support, the very laws that you are bound to aid the Executive in enforcing, are the very laws that you tell the citizen shall not be obeyed.

If the law in reference to protecting the citizens by a marshal on the day of an election shall not be enforced, although it remains upon the statute-book, I want you to tell me why the law against murder shall be enforced, and why a citizen should be subject to the law? Why shall the law against larceny be enforced? Why shall the law against arson be enforced? Why shall the law against robbing the Treasury be enforced? Why shall the law against defrauding the revenues be enforced? Why shall the law against perjury be enforced? Why shall the law against any of the offenses known in the catalogue of crime be enforced? You have as much right to deny the enforcement of the law against any crime as you have to deny the enforcement of the laws for the preservation of the peace at the polls. The man who teaches the doctrine to-day that the citizen shall not obey the law, but it shall be nullified by withholding appropriations and by making it a penal offense to execute the law, teaches a doctrine that finally will become revolutionary, and will produce the same treasonable course that we have heretofore witnessed, for it leads to that. It leads to refusing to obey any law unless you yourselves have written it, unless you yourselves have enacted it. It leads to disobedience of the power and supremacy of the Government; and finally it will find its results

in disobedience to all laws, and the citizens, taught to take the power in their own hands, will execute that which serves their purpose and disobey that which does not serve their purpose. In that way we are taught the lessons of Mexico, we are taught the lessons of the South American republics—the lesson of revolution, riot, and bloodshed against the peace and stability of our country.

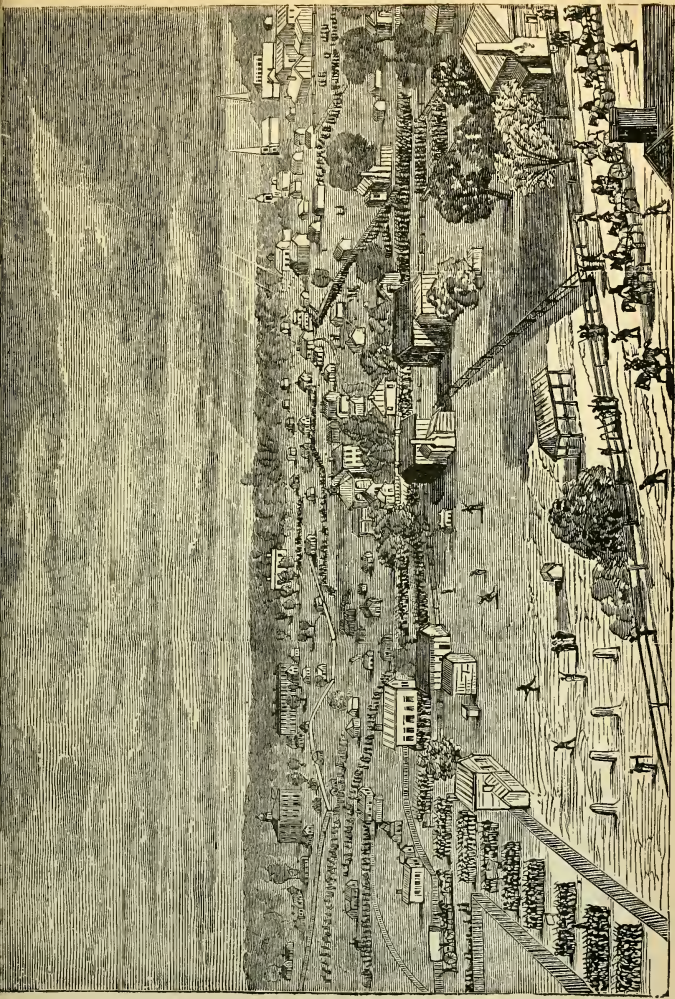
Mr. President, in my judgment there will be a still small voice that will come up from the midst of the people of this country ere long that will be a warning to some of our friends in the future. The whisperings of that voice will be that the teaching of the good men, the honest men, and patriots has been and is, obedience to the laws and the Constitution of their country. Men who teach otherwise than this are bad teachers for a community, are false teachers for a rising generation, and are sowing the seeds of destruction in their own government.

After the adjournment of Congress that summer, 1879, General Logan entered at once into the exciting campaign which followed. So much attention had his conflict with the Confederate brigadiers excited that he was called for, to fill appointments for political speeches, more frequently during that season than any other man in the United States. He responded in every case where it was possible, speaking for weeks once or twice every day, and traveling back and forth across three or four States of the Union, addressing immense crowds at the more important towns on his way. The Cincinnati *Commercial*, speaking of the campaign that fall, said that the information from Columbus disclosed an unprecedented number of applications for speakers, and that John A. Logan was wanted in the most places. In Ohio, next after Logan came Garfield, and after Garfield, Blaine ; and the writer in the paper expressed surprise that "Zach" Chandler did not come first. He proceeded to suggest that when a candidate for President was wanted next time, John A. Logan would probably be

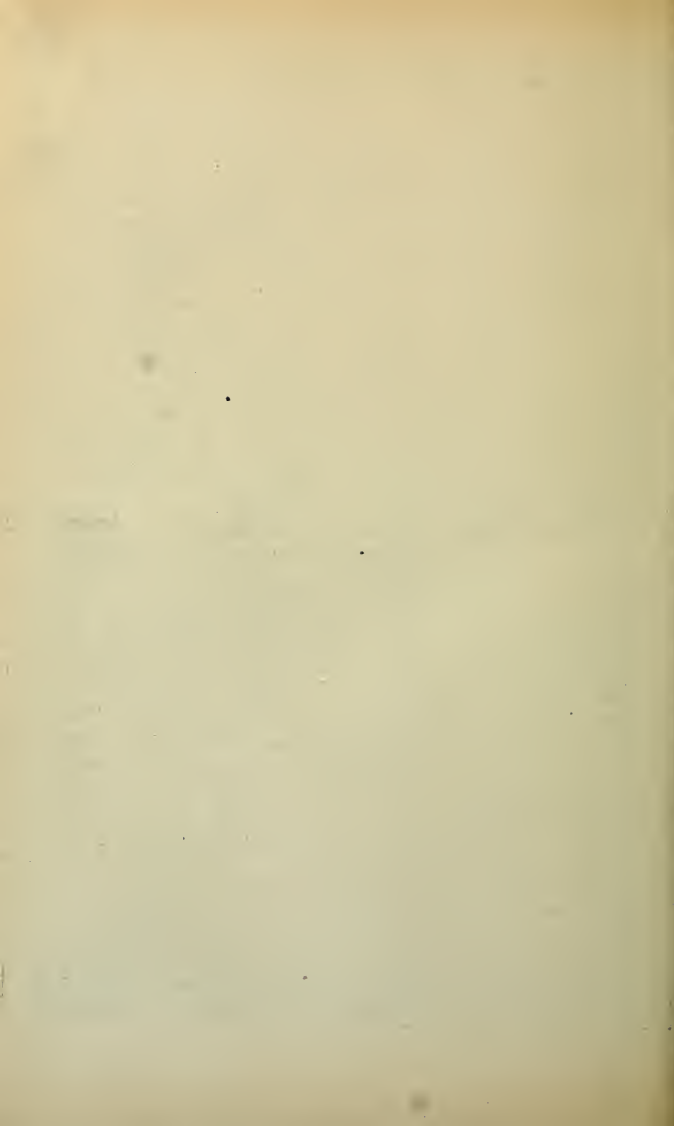
again called for by more people than any other man in the country.

Returning from an ovation throughout Ohio, he took a trip in the State of Iowa, being greeted by enthusiastic multitudes at every point he appeared. At Waterloo he spoke twice in one day, and hurried on to West Liberty, Newton, Des Moines, and other places, winding up the campaign with a great meeting at Burlington. He fairly took Iowa by storm. Returning to Chicago in November, he delivered the address before the Union Veteran Club in that city, in the course of which he discussed at length all the political problems of the hour ; declaring that he did not believe the armies of the Union fought for the purpose of enforcing the laws against themselves and letting them go unenforced against others ; that he did not believe the protection of the Government belonged to white men or to the men of any color exclusively ; and that while the Constitution, by its fourteenth amendment, made every man a citizen, it required of him a duty to the Government whenever it called for his services, which he was bound to obey. It involved the same duty on him in war as in peace, and while this duty devolved on the citizen, the Government, in turn, was bound to protect him in all his rights and privileges, political and social. He did not believe in one law for the citizen of Illinois, and another for the citizen of Mississippi ; he believed that Government had the right, and should enforce it, to protect its citizens at an election, general or local, allowing every man to vote as he pleased, and assuring an honest count of his vote as cast ; he believed that the power was invested in the Government to protect its citizens anywhere in the right of franchise and personal liberty.

In February, 1880, he made in the Senate a legal argument in favor of the payment by the United States of the Five Per Cent. Claims of Illinois and other States against the Govern-



VIEW OF ATLANTA — LOOKING SOUTH.



ment for the land located by military warrant within their boundaries. Although in this proposition he was opposed by such lawyers as Senator Edmunds and others of prominence, it was admitted by his opponents that it was "a very able argument." He maintained that this was a contract between the Government of the United States and those States, which had been entered into and carried out in good faith on the part of the people desiring the growth of the country, and under this arrangement they had consented to proffer these inducements to stimulate the settlement of the New West. He declared that each and every compact with the States should be kept in the same good faith, and everything promised for the welfare of the people should be faithfully and religiously fulfilled.

In March of that year occurred one of the chief episodes in General Logan's Senatorial career, being his famous speech, lasting four days, in opposition to the bill to restore Fitz-John Porter to the army and give him \$60,000 back pay. The public and members of the House of Representatives filled the galleries and floor of the Senate, and the Capitol was thronged with immense crowds, many of whom were unable to gain admission to hear the Senator's argument on the question. Officers of the army and navy, members of the Cabinet, with judges of the Supreme Court, filled every available corner of the Senate floor, and listened with rapt attention throughout the entire four days. The press of the country universally acknowledged the breadth and force of General Logan's logic, and the bill met with such crushing treatment at his hands that the attempt to reinstate Porter at that time was abandoned. No speech has ever been delivered in the United States Senate which embodied a more complete review of the facts and the law in the case under discussion than he brought to bear against the Porter Bill on this occasion. It will be

impossible here, of course, to present even a syllabus of the argument, but a few paragraphs, with which he closed his address, are as follows :

Then, sir, in conclusion, I say as an American citizen, as a Senator of the United States, I do most sincerely and earnestly protest against the passage of this proposed bill.

By every remembrance of gratitude and loyalty to those whose faithful devotion preserved their country, I must protest against this stupendous reward to him who, in the judgment of the court, faltered in duty and failed in honor in the hour of peril and climax of battle.

I protest, because the precedent sought to be established would prove a source of unknown evils in the future. It would stand hereafter as an incentive to military disobedience in the crisis of arms, and as assurance of forgiveness and emolument for the most dangerous crime a soldier can commit.

I protest, because every sentence heretofore executed upon subordinates in the service for minor offenses would stand as the record of a cruel tyranny if this supreme crime is to be condoned and obliterated and its perpetrator restored to rank and rewarded with pay.

I protest, because the spirit of patriotism, upon which alone we must rely in the Nation's need, hereafter will be shamed and subdued by inflicting this brand of condemnation upon those patriotic men who began and conducted the original proceedings and sanctioned the original sentence, as well as upon others, equally patriotic, who affirmed the sentence and refused to annul its just decree.

I protest, because the money appropriated by this act will be money drawn from the Treasury in furtherance of an unauthorized purpose, and in defiance of the rules of law.

I protest, because the bill is loaded with startling innovations. It overrides statutes and is the exercise of unconstitutional power. It subverts the order of military promotion, and postpones the worthy to advance the unworthy. Its tendency is to applaud insubordination. Its effect will be to encourage dereliction of

duty. The soldier and the civilian will alike feel its baneful influence ; for such an error, if once permitted to creep into our system of laws, can never be eradicated. Upon every motive for the public good, without one impulse personal to myself against the subject of this bill, with every proper remembrance of the past tempered by every proper conciliation in the present, but looking sternly at the inevitable consequences in the future, I protest against this enactment as a duty I owe to the country which I cannot and would not avoid.

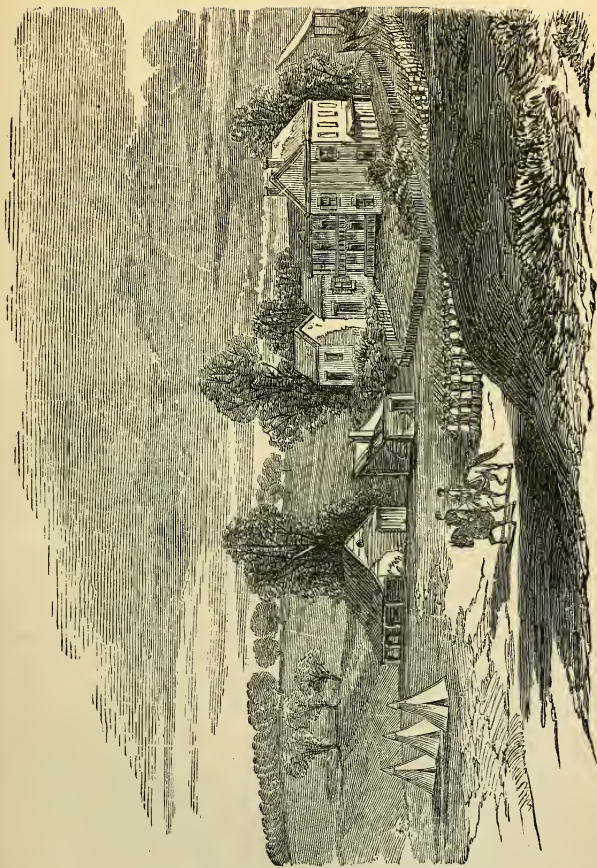
Early in this year the candidacy of General Logan for the Presidency of the United States was again agitated, and the fact that his name was not presented to the great Convention in 1880 was entirely due to himself. While Mr. Blaine, Secretary Sherman, and himself were being canvassed as the most available and popular men for the nomination, he declared his position in the following terms :

“I am in favor of the nomination of General Grant for the Presidency, simply and only because he is the strongest and most available man in the contest. I am not making war on any of the rival candidates; no man has heard me say a cruel or unjustifiable word about Mr. Blaine, Mr. Sherman, or indeed any of the gentlemen whose names have been mentioned as candidates. That I go against them is true; but only because I am for General Grant.”

Political adversaries at once suggested, as a matter of course, that General Logan was “trying to play the part of a dark horse in the contest.” He at once wrote an open letter to the press, in which he said distinctly : “I never play hide-and-seek in politics. When I wish to be a candidate, I say so, and make a square, honorable fight for it. I never have any second choice. The man that I am for is my choice always, unless he is defeated ; then the choice made by my friends becomes my choice.”

The Herculean struggles of General Logan during the preliminary canvass of 1880 in favor of the candidacy of General Grant are well remembered. He was thoroughly identified with the school of politicians then characterized as "Stalwarts," and manfully did he fight to the last under the banner of "the old commander." He went down gallantly with the famous "306," in the whirlwind which terminated the struggle at Chicago; but he met defeat gracefully, and was the first to carry the colors of the Republican party again to the front with the declaration that the nominee of the Convention was his candidate, and that he was in the battle to win. Without allowing a day to pass he entered the campaign with all his power, taking the stump for Garfield and laboring for his election constantly to the end of the campaign.

There is a little episode in connection with this Convention which the writer believes has never been in print, and probably Colonel "Dick" Oglesby, of Illinois, does not know to this day how near he came to being President of the United States. Upon the nomination of Garfield, the Convention took a recess, because it was instinctively understood that time was necessary for consultation, and to fill out the ticket. The friends of General Garfield were frightened at what they had done, even in the flush of success, and were ready to make any concession to the friends of General Grant in the matter of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. They laid at the feet of the solid cohorts who had stood by him for thirty-six ballots the choice of a man who would secure their support for the ticket as a whole. Humiliated at failure, and stung to the quick at what they deemed an unjustifiable rejection of their candidate, the New York Senator and other leaders of the Stalwart wing, except Logan, declined to give any expression of encouragement in return for the overtures made by Garfield's friends.



MARCHING THROUGH VIRGINIA ON THE WAY TO THE GRAND REVIEW AT WASHINGTON.

They seemed disposed in that hour of bitter reverse to leave the responsibility of the election of the candidate entirely to the men who had made the nomination. General Logan instantly took the opposite ground. He declared that Garfield had been nominated by the highest council of the party, and that it was their duty to unite cordially and contribute by every means in their power to his success. Upon the refusal of the leader of the New York delegation to present the name of Levi P. Morton, or any other New Yorker, he declared, in unmistakable terms, that while he, as well as other politicians, considered it best under the circumstances to give the Empire State the second place on the ticket, in deference to the wishes of the Ohio men who spoke for Garfield, still, if Mr. Conkling, or some other prominent delegate from New York, would not present a man for the position, he proposed to rise in the Convention and name "Dick" Oglesby for the Vice-Presidency. The New Yorkers still refused to have anything to do with it, and it was not until the very hour of the re-assembling of the Convention, that they finally yielded, in the face of the determined position which General Logan took on the question, and consented to present the name of Chester A. Arthur. General Logan cordially acquiesced in this arrangement, believing, with Garfield's friends, that it was important that New York should be recognized on the ticket, but otherwise he demanded that the honor should be given to a favorite son of Illinois, in the person of Oglesby.

In the bitter contest which ensued between President Garfield and the New York Senators he continued to occupy consistent ground, and supported the Administration which the Republican party had placed in power.

The conversion of General Grant upon the Fitz-John Porter matter created a profound impression throughout the country and revived the hopes of Porter's friends, who had not in-

dulged in the expectation of final success since the utter demolition of their cause by Senator Logan's speech early in 1880. It was believed by many that, in the face of the position maintained by such an eminent military authority as General Grant, General Logan himself would yield, and desist from further opposition to Porter's restoration. In reply to General Grant's review of the case in the *North American Review*, he wrote an article published by the Chicago *Tribune* in November, 1881, in which he reiterated his views in the most convincing manner, and gave the reasons succinctly for his unalterable judgment in the premises. It was suggested by many writers in the press that the episode would lead to an estrangement between Grant and Logan; but in this they were mistaken in the Senator's character, for not many weeks after the appearance of General Grant's article, he called up in the Senate the bill to place the latter on the retired list of the army, and proceeded eloquently in the defense of his old leader, in response to attacks by the Senators on the Democratic side of the Chamber. He declared that to Ulysses S. Grant, more than to any man in this nation who had to do with the army of the country, we owed to-day a debt of gratitude that future generations could never repay. He said that by the agency of this man the flag of our fathers and of this country had been unfurled from the house-tops and the hill-tops, and the songs of the nation were echoed in the valleys. He asked the Democratic Senators what they had against General Grant. They were willing to restore Fitz-John Porter to the army, a man who had been dismissed from the service in disgrace; whose dismissal had been signed by Lincoln and agreed to by Garfield, yet they refused to retire General Grant, to whom we were indebted for the salvation of this country more than to any other. He told them that the success of the Union, secured by General Grant, was

as much theirs as that of the North against whom they had fought ; that they had the same interests in the common future of the Nation, and the glory of Grant's achievements was their glory ; that prejudice should die out, and the country go forward together, teaching the people unity and prosperity by their own energy and labor.

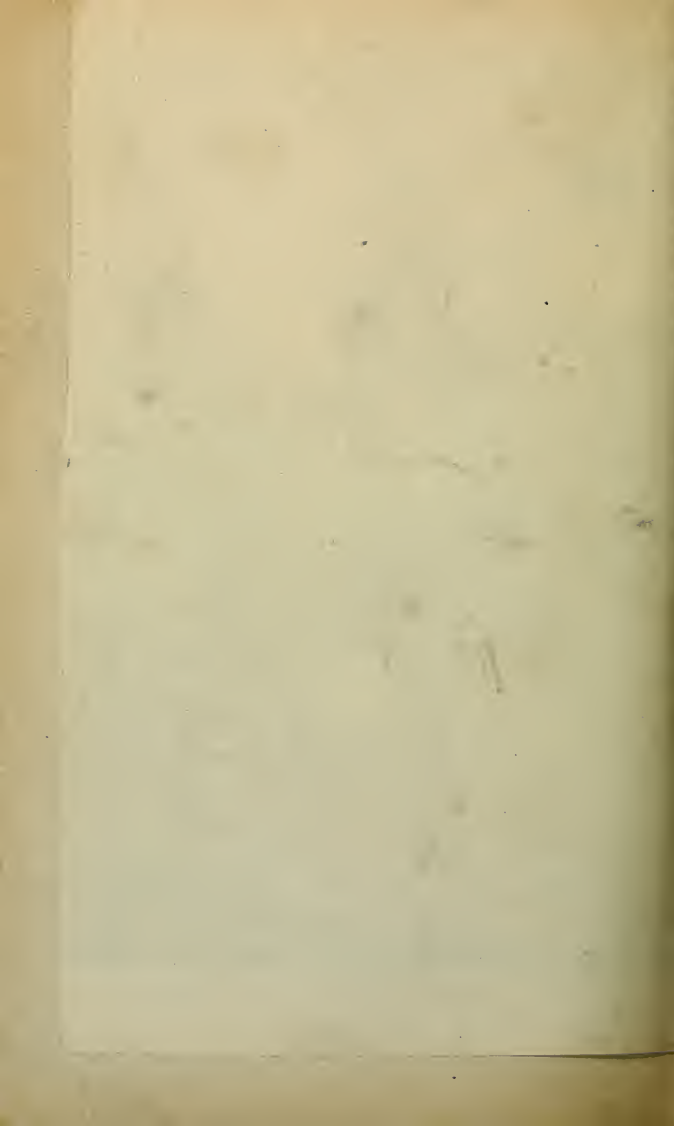
During the winter of 1881 and 1882, when the Pension Appropriation Bill was before the Senate, General Logan replied to the attacks made upon it because of its amount, in the most vigorous terms. He admitted that it was enormous ; there were other appropriations which were enormous, and many were voted where there was not half so much merit as in the Pension Bill. It was true that we appropriated more than \$100,000,000 a year for this purpose, but we did so because the country owed it. Other appropriations were made where we did not owe the money, but in this case it was a solemn debt which this Government should and could discharge. He did not know why it should be characterized as a raid on the Treasury any more than it was a raid to pay a claim in obedience to the judgment of a court. He said there were many persons in this country drawing pensions whose wounds were covered by their garments, and unseen ; wounds painful to them, and because such men were going about, people said they were not entitled to pensions. He cited an instance he knew of an ex-army officer in Washington City ; he was a pensioner, but he appeared to be in perfect health ; and yet his intimate friends knew that, although he appeared so well, he wore a seton in his body running from side to side, where he had been shot, and had done so ever since the war ; it was necessary to keep the wound open in order to preserve his life. There were numberless instances of the same kind, and it ill became those who did not serve in the army, on either side, to set themselves up in judgment and say that others who had

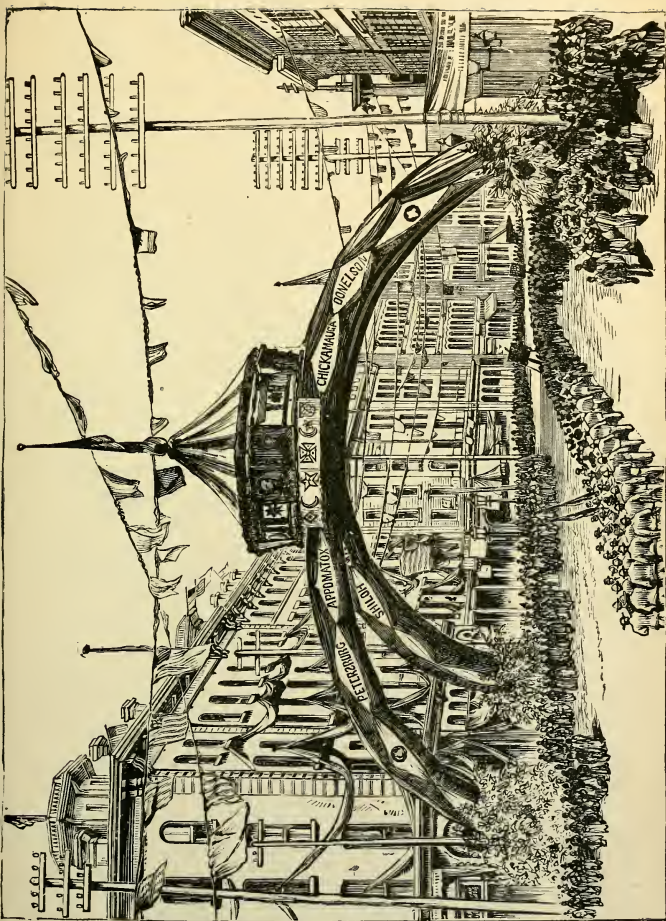
done duty in battle, in camp and on the march, were not deserving of the pittance they drew from the United States Government in return for the numberless hardships and the wreck of their physical powers, which would last to the day of their death. With reference to the bill for the payment of arrearages, he said that this provision should have been attached in the beginning, and it was only justice and common sense that the soldier should receive a pension from the time he was discharged on account of the injury, and not from the date when his case might be completed in the Pension Office. He said the bill for arrears was really an amendment to the law which had been omitted in the beginning, and was simply supplying an omission which should have been embodied in the original act. It was no objection to make against the correction of an error that, owing to the long lapse of time in which it had been in force, the amount of dues which had accumulated under it were vast in proportion. It was nothing against the validity of a debt to admit that it was very large.

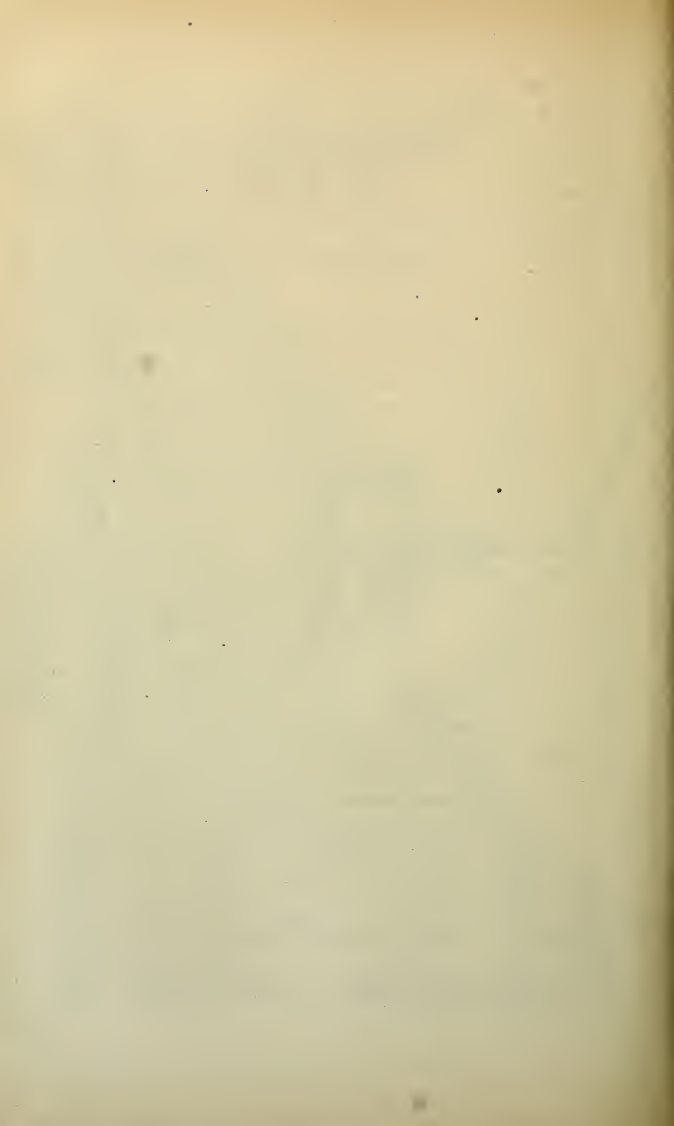
All through General Logan's career we have seen evidence of his high appreciation of the importance of affording the best educational advantages for the masses ; and he has never omitted an opportunity in the course of his public life to advocate measures for the increase of popular learning by every available means. Finally, in 1882, he worked out what he thought was a practicable system for accomplishing the desired result, and he formulated his views, which he presented in the Senate in March. The measure has become known as "Logan's Bill to appropriate the receipts from internal revenue taxes to educational purposes." It was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, of which Senator Blair is chairman, and up to the present time has not been acted upon. The full text of the bill is as follows :



GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN AT THE BATTLE OF DALLAS.







Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act the entire income derived from the internal-revenue taxes on the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits shall be appropriated and expended for the education of all the children living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That the money so received shall be expended *pro rata* in the several States and Territories, as shown by the census of 1880 and each succeeding census.

SEC. 3. That the education hereby contemplated shall include such instruction as is provided in the curriculum of the public schools of the country, and also the establishment and maintenance of normal schools, teachers' institutes, and instruction in the industrial and mechanical arts.

SEC. 4. That any State or Territory, before receiving the benefits of this act, shall be required, by local enactment, to make obligatory upon all children between the ages of seven and twelve years school-attendance for at least six months in each year.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior is charged with the proper administration of this law, through the Commissioner of Education; and they are authorized and directed, under the approval of the President, to make all needful rules and regulations to carry this law into effect.

SEC. 6. That no part of this fund shall be used for the erection of school-houses or buildings of any kind for school purposes.

On the 16th of March Senator Logan delivered a speech in explanation and advocacy of his bill, which has been widely commented upon in the public press of the country. It fully set forth the advantages to be derived from the proposition. It embraced a complete review of the educational condition of the people, showing a startling array of facts and statistics which demonstrated a state of illiteracy in certain sections of the country, which is conceded on all sides to be dangerous to a nation, the stability of whose Government depends upon the intelligence of its citizens, when exercising the power involved in a universal franchise. In closing this masterly address, he said ;

Nations are counted great and remembered chiefly for two things—wisdom and power: the former the property of the few; the latter the property of the many, though wielded by the few. The ancients aimed to confine knowledge to a select class, and to make it, so far as possible, an inheritance transmissible to their descendants. The enlightened moderns seek to make it the common heritage of all. They search for all the specimens of mind, even to the shreds of it found in idiots, and cultivate all these. Why? Because every mind is an element of power. Private individuals ransack the streams and the mountains for particles of gold, and offer them to the world as an addition to its wealth; but a nation finds honor in discovering minds and offering them to be used in all the duties of life. Des Cartes was accustomed to say, "In the universe there is nothing great but man, and in man there is nothing great but mind,"—an expression afterward condensed and improved by Sir William Hamilton thus: "In the universe nothing is great but mind."

Our systems of public schools give emphasis to this idea, and justify the search alluded to. A nation may honorably seek power; indeed, if it were to live, it must seek and retain power. Those who are to be the power of the nation are the children scattered in the palaces, garrets, and cellars of cities, and in the homes and cabins of the country, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific shore. Whatever force there shall be, therefore, to do or direct, must be found in these children. Their tide, growing with every advancing year, must supply for the future of our nation all its wealth, all its science, all its power, all its honor.

It may be assumed that as the present generation shall receive and educate its children, and welcome the annual swarms of immigrants crowding to our shores, so will the land increase in all that makes a people worthy of everlasting remembrance.

And the same conditions which secure this will also establish our country in all that a free people can desire—power, honor, comfort, intelligence, and wealth. What some of these conditions are, it is not hard to declare; for knowledge universally diffused is so clearly the great force that even a statement

to this effect is unnecessary. That "knowledge is power" is a truism now denied by none.

What is of so much worth as children, even reckoning on that very low plane, their simple cash value as prospective laborers? A fine climate gives effect to every interest and industry of a land; a fertile soil attracts population and enterprise to cultivate it; mines afford opportunity for the poor to gather wealth and scatter it abroad throughout the world. But none of these are of any more worth than a desert, without hands to improve them; and what are hands worth without minds to direct them? A hand with an educated brain behind it is worth more than treble an ignorant one. Give the finest climate earth can show, the fattest soil the continents lift out of the sea, the richest mines the mountains contain, the safest harbors that border the sea or indent the land, and let a people be ignorant of their own capabilities, or of the resources of Nature and her mighty agencies, and what are all these worth? Africa to-day has ten million square miles of soil as fertile as lies beneath the sun. She has a hundred millions of people. Yet the little island of England, with only about sixty thousand square miles and forty millions of people, produces annually, in a climate almost of the polar circle, more articles of food and clothing raised directly from the earth by agricultural labor alone, than all that continent; and if you count in the manufactures which her machinery yields, she does the work of ten times the whole population of Africa. How is she enabled to do this? Simply because the educated mind of England can multiply her hands by a thousandfold. Nature lends her gravitation—even enslaves her sun, and harnesses her lightning, so that they afford hands and feet to run and labor for those people who have learned how to use such agencies. The same thing is seen in any enlightened country, or at least where education is widely diffused. And yet in England less than half the common people's children are educated in any suitable degree. It is mind which has accomplished all these wonders; and minds are found in almost equal numbers in all ranks of society. The child of the peasant is often as full of genius as the child of

the prince, with a stronger body and less tendency to habits of vice or recklessness ; and if he can be found and educated the nation certainly derives the greatest possible benefits ; and if a nation is to be raised to its highest degree of efficiency every particle of its mind must be utilized.

The war between France and Germany affords pertinent illustration of the value of education in a peasantry to increase the worth of men, considered as mere machines of warfare. Every German soldier could read and write, and knew the geography of France. He could calculate almost as well as his officers, and he knew how to take care of his person and health. Those of France were nearly half illiterate, and as an army they seemed little more than a bank of snow before an April wind in comparison with the Germans.

The nine millions of children who daily march to the school-houses of the North, the West, and the South are better as a defense for the whole nation than a standing army as large as all the armies of Europe. The quarter of a million of school-teachers who daily drill these children in the school-houses are a better provision for training the nation in patriotism than all the statesmen and military officers of the Old World. Let every child of the Nation be sent to a good school, and trained by a proper method in broad national ideas, and we never need fear either foreign aggression and domination, or domestic insurrection and sectional strifes and jealousies. Strength, peace, harmony, prosperity, nobility of character, patriotism, virtue, and happiness, would flow as from a perennial spring in the mountains, to fill the land forever.

But the benefits of education are not confined to an increase of material prosperity, and to the means of promoting the public defense. The physical comfort and general healthfulness of the whole population are advanced thereby in even a greater ratio than the interests before named. Can it be reckoned no benefit to a community that every person possesses sufficient intelligence to understand the reasons for cleanliness and exercise, the necessity for pure air and good food, and the means of securing all these ? Are more comfortable and beautiful homes no profit to

families, and do not all arts which knowledge fosters contribute to the happiness and power of a people? In the mere matter of bodily health it would not be difficult to show that if the whole of a community could be brought to practice the precepts of hygiene, which could be readily learned by a child of fourteen without loss of time for ordinary family duties or for needed rest, at least two-thirds of all the diseases which now afflict the human race would be as effectually banished from the earth as reptiles are from Ireland.

The effect, also, of the general diffusion of education among the masses of our population in respect to their moral condition can scarcely be calculated. That evil will ever go side by side with good in this world, experience leaves us no reason to doubt. That while by a general school system we are educating those who will be an honor to themselves and a benefit to society and the nation we are also to a certain extent educating the vicious, is true; but that, on the whole, education tends largely, very largely, to increase the better element in proportion to the vicious, is a fact that cannot be denied. To enter fully upon the discussion of this proposition would be out of place here, notwithstanding its great importance in this connection. But it is evident to every intelligent person that safety in this matter consists in continued progress. To halt in the race will result in giving over society and the nation to the control of the vicious. To education, therefore, must we look for all the elements of national strength, and the more generally it is diffused and the higher its grade, in like proportion will our national power be increased. So that if Congress intends to do anything in this great work that will be adequate to the wants of the people, it must be done with a liberal hand, and in a manner that will show manifest justice to all sections. While ten or fifteen millions may and will do much good if granted to one section, those who are imposing heavy burdens upon themselves in other sections to educate their children will have just grounds to complain that injustice has been done them.

While Illinois spends 1 per cent. of the assessed value of her taxable property, and Iowa 1.4 per cent., for school purposes,

Georgia spends but one-tenth of 1 per cent., and North Carolina but one-fourth of 1 per cent. for this purpose. This difference cannot, of course, be charged to inability, but, to put it in the mildest form, it must be charged to neglect, or the want of appreciation of the value of education. To help the latter, then, and withhold assistance from the former would have too much the appearance of rewarding the negligent, who are unwilling even to do what they can to help themselves, and refusing aid to those who are burdening themselves to prepare their children to be useful members of society and valuable citizens of the Nation. I am as desirous as any one in this Senate to assist those States that are in the background in this respect, for I am fully aware they are laboring under difficulties which do not apply to their sister States, and this is one great reason—in fact, I may say the chief reason—why I have brought forward this bill. But I wish the Government to be just in distributing its favors, and this cannot be done effectually in this matter with much less than the amount I have proposed. Although money from this tax has no more inherent value in it for this purpose than any other fund, yet there is something pleasing in the idea that the mighty stream of liquid sin, flowing on in spite of all the efforts made to check it, and bearing multitudes downward to its whirlpool of crime and death, will thus be made, by its very downward pressure, a power to lift as many more from the depths of ignorance; that the very streams the distillers and retailers are sending forth to foster vice and crime may be used as a force to destroy their origin, just as the maddened waters of Niagara may be made a force to level the precipice from which they fall. So far, then, as the use of this particular fund in this way inspires this feeling in those who encourage education and temperance, so far, we may truly say, it would be more effectual than any other.

Men called statesmen are apt to believe that they control the masses; but when the masses, whether right or wrong, become aroused on any question pertaining to government, the men known as statesmen are as powerless to control them as they are to direct the storm; and so the leading men, or statesmen, as

they are called, join their respective sides and add fury to the desires of the people. Aristides did not control Athens, nor Xerxes Persia, in that fullest sense which brought the destinies of nations into conflict. The common Greeks and the common Persians, who had in some way learned in their ignorance to hate and despise each other, made those furious wars possible, if not necessary. So it will always be. The instincts, as we sometimes call them,—and these are scarcely anything but the transmitted notions and sentiments of one generation accumulating power in another,—will sway the populace and influence the policy of rulers. They will by their desires force the Government into unwise measures. If they are selfish, they will compel a selfish and perhaps an aggressive policy. If they are vicious, the Government cannot long maintain a consistent course of justice and honor. If they are divided by sectional jealousies and trained to hostile feelings, can there be union of sentiment and action?

In our own land to-day the grossly ignorant are numerous enough to control the affairs of the Nation. They hold the balance of power, if they could only unite. But while they do not unite as a class, their influence may do worse than form a union among themselves; for any apparent attempt to form a party of the ignorant would undoubtedly be met by a combination of the intelligent. Their wishes and desires, their prejudices and jealousies, may suggest to demagogues opportunities to gain selfish ends and plunge us into still greater sectional strifes. We need, as a Nation so extended, to foster homogeneous instruction in our hundred different climates and regions. The one grand thing to do in every one of these regions, each larger than most of the nations of the world, is to secure the uniformity of intelligence and virtue. We need no other.

If our people in the pine woods of Maine or Michigan; if those in the mines of the Carolinas and Virginia, in Colorado and Nevada, in California and Alaska; if the cultivators of the farms in Ohio and Dakota, of the plantations of Georgia and Louisiana; if the herders of the ranches of Texas and New Mexico,—can all be rendered intelligent enough to see the ex-

cellence of virtue and be made noble enough to practice its self-restraining laws; if they can be taught wisdom enough to appreciate the ten thousand advantages of a national Union embracing a hundred climates and capable of sustaining a myriad of mutually helpful industries, freely interchanging the products and acting on each other as mutual forces to stimulate every one to its highest capacity of rival endeavor,—then we would be sure of a stable Union and an immortality of glory.

Is it now easy to see that the education of the young, on one common plan with one common purpose—the people's children taught by the people themselves—in schools made by the people themselves, yet in some noble sense patronized by the Nation and supervised by the Nation in some proper manner, will aid in making on this continent a nation such as we hope to be—and what the foreshadowings of Providence seem to indicate we ought to be—the one great and mighty Nation of the world? We have the same glorious Constitution. Let us all, from highest to lowest, from richest to poorest, from blackest to whitest, learn to read its words as they are written, and then we shall be most likely to interpret its provisions alike and administer its enactments alike in justice and honor.

We all read the same Bible and claim to practice the same golden rule. Let us instruct all the youth whom the beneficent Father gives us, natives of this land or born on other shores, in the grand principles of morality which it inculcates, and in all the science which it has fostered. We all inherit from our mother-land the same invaluable code of common laws and institutions. Let us, if need be, be careful all to obtain enough knowledge to read and understand the laws which the Legislatures of the several States shall make and the decisions in accordance with that common law which their courts shall render. We have received from our ancestors and from the present generation of philosophic scientists a body of knowledge and wisdom the worth of which even genius can scarcely estimate. Let that be given to every child that breathes our atmosphere in substantially the same spelling-book and primer, in schools as good among the snows of Aroostook as in marts of New York, Boston,

or Charleston ; as free on the shores of Puget Sound as on the prairies of Illinois, and as well taught in the rice-fields of the South as on the hills of Connecticut. Then we shall be "one and inseparable, now and forever."

At the opening of the Forty-eighth Congress, circumstances seemed at last to be ripe for the success of the bill to restore Fitz-John Porter to the army. The Democrats, who had made this a political issue, had come in with a majority of seventy in the House of Representatives, while the Senate was practically a tie. In the latter body, however, the friends of Porter had gained important accessions in the votes of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, who professed to have been converted by General Grant's article in the *North American Review*, and Senator Sewell, of New Jersey, representing Porter's native State. The bill passed the House by a party vote and came to the Senate in such shape as, in the opinion of the best lawyers of the country, not only reversed the findings of the court-martial, but granted Porter his pay for all the years intervening since his expulsion from the army.

General Logan again took up the cause of the public in this noted case, and, unawed by the apparent overwhelming circumstances pointing to the success of Porter's plea, proceeded to make another extended argument in opposition to the bill. Again the Capitol was crowded to suffocation by an assemblage of people eager to hear General Logan's argument, and they were rewarded by the pleasure of listening to an address which has become scarcely less famous than his four days' speech on the same subject in 1880.

The following is a condensed report of his argument, giving its principal parts in an abridged form :

MR. PRESIDENT : I know that it is very difficult for Senators to be required at each session of Congress to listen to a protracted

discussion of this question, but I deem it my duty as long as I hold a place in the Senate, having very strong convictions in reference to this question, to oppose the consummation proposed by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Sewell], and if Senators will give me their attention I shall try to discuss this proposition upon the law and the facts. I think there would be no difficulty in arriving at a correct conclusion in reference to the guilt or innocence of this person, who was charged before a court-martial, if we could divest ourselves of much of what I might term extraneous matter that is constantly thrust into the case.

This seems to be the court of last resort in this case. In other words, the Congress of the United States is asked by this bill to take up and review the proceedings of a court-martial, to examine the evidence given before a Board of Inquiry subsequent to the court-martial, and to decide whether or not that court-martial made a proper decision according to the law and the facts.

If the court-martial decided correctly, according to the law and the facts before it, then Congress ought certainly not to place this man in the army again. If that court-martial decided against the law and the facts, I do not deny that the power exists in Congress to authorize his nomination to a place in the army. I deny the power of Congress to review the court-martial; but that they have the right to authorize him to be put in the army I do not deny. When this case was formerly before the Congress of the United States, there was then a continuing sentence of the court-martial which prohibited him from holding any office of trust or profit under the United States. The main question discussed before the Senate at that time, or the one that engrossed the mind of the Senate, was whether or not Congress had the power to review the action of a court-martial and set aside its sentence. I took the ground then, and maintained it, I believe, by decisions of the courts from the time decisions were made in this country in reference to questions of that kind, that Congress did not have the power. Since that time an application has been made to the President of the United States to remit so much of the judgment of the court-martial as prohibited him from holding any office of

trust or profit. That has been done. Now the question is, whether or not the record of the court-martial shall be examined by Congress, and Congress decide that that court-martial went beyond its jurisdiction, beyond the law and the facts, in finding a verdict of guilty. If Congress comes to the conclusion that it did, then Congress may by an act give the President of the United States authority to nominate him again to a position in the army. Now, what is the point? There are but two questions: First, What is the law? Second, What is the evidence applicable to that law for this tribunal to examine? As I said, if much extraneous matter were laid aside there would be but little difficulty in arriving at a correct conclusion in this case.

The Senator from New Jersey yesterday, in making his remarks, might have been saved a great deal of trouble if he had asked for the first volume of the proceedings of this board of officers. If the latter part of it had been read to the Senate, it would have saved him from making his speech. If any one will examine the arguments which have been made in his behalf from the time this case was first presented to Congress down to the present time, he will find it is a repetition of the argument made and filed before that board by Fitz-John Porter himself, and all the letters, orders, documents, and everything that was presented here yesterday, are found in connection with his argument before that board.

I was criticised yesterday by the Senator from New Jersey because of a report which I made. But before proceeding to that, if the Senate will excuse me, I desire to state the propositions I am going to discuss.

It has been attempted in all the arguments made in defense of Fitz-John Porter to inpress upon the minds of the Senate and the country maxims that would apply to this case. As read, re-read, reiterated everywhere, it has been said that in these maxims it is found that a commanding officer's order is not necessarily to be obeyed, unless he is present and observing the situation. That is not the law, and I will show it.

One of the great leading maxims in Napoleon's military experience—you will find it in all his campaigns, and it was a standing

order to all his corps commanders—was that when the general of the army was not present to give orders, each corps commander should march to the sound of the enemy's guns. That was a general order in all his campaigns. We were told yesterday, and were told by the board which is considered immaculate by Senators and by some gentlemen in this country, that Pope was mistaken first, as to the road; second, he was mistaken as to what was in Porter's front at the time. Pope mistaken! Why, Mr. President, all the arguments that have been made in defense of this man, has been an attempt to try General John Pope, and not to try the facts in the case of Fitz-John Porter. I desire to reply now, before I go any further, first, to the Senator's remarks of yesterday in reference to my report, and then I will come back and confine myself to the law and the facts in this case.

The Senator from New Jersey criticised my report because I had charged that this was an illegal board, without responsibility, without the power to try, or to decide, or to swear witnesses, and he undertook to argue that I had attacked the board, because I stated these facts in my report. Did I state anything that was not true?

But, sir, before proceeding further, I want to say that during all the time I shall discuss this question—from now until I conclude—I am willing to be interrupted, and asked any question on any law proposition or any of the facts, in order that we may all understand it and have it made plain.

Did that board have authority to try this case? I say no. Why? Where did the President get authority to authorize any person to administer oaths, who was not a competent officer to administer oaths? Will some one tell me? Where does the President get authority to appoint a board to re-examine court-martial proceedings that have been approved? I should like some lawyer to show me the law. Sir, this was attempted when we discussed this question here before. A Senator got up and read law to the Senate, and called my attention to the fact that the law authorized a court of inquiry. That only proved to any one who had any knowledge of military law that the Senator did not understand military law. The board of inquiry authorized

by the statute is a board to inquire into an officer's conduct then in the army, to see whether his conduct is such that charges should be preferred against him before a court-martial. That is a court of inquiry. This was not a court of inquiry. It was a board of three officers appointed by the President of the United States, without any law, without authority, without any justification or excuse in law.

As I said before, I say again, if the President wanted to authorize three officers, or a dozen officers, to examine into a question and report to him, to say what the facts were, so that he might form an opinion as to his right to pardon a man, that is one thing; but when a board examines a case and makes a recommendation that a man should be restored to the army and paid over \$70,000, which was their recommendation (that is, it would have been that amount to have put him back as they recommended him to be put back), that is beyond their authority; it is beyond the scope of the authority of any power that exists in law, and I defy contradiction from any man—lawyer, judge, or Senator.

Mr. President, any man who will examine this case carefully—and I may say that I have examined it carefully, without prejudice—will come to the conclusion that this board paid little attention whatever to the evidence; they perverted and distorted it in every possible way. Sir, curious things may strike a board as well as other people. I should not have said a word about this board in this debate, if it had not been that it has been brought forward again as the judgment of a court that we could not gainsay. I ask any man to read it fully and see if it is not a trial of McDowell, too. Strange to say, McDowell was then of an age, or would have been in a few months, to be retired from the major-generalcy, and Pope was the next ranking officer. Two of the gentlemen on this board were applicants, one for McDowell's place, and one for the brigadiership. If one could succeed, both could; if one failed, both must fail. That should not affect their judgment, however, and perhaps did not; but, strange to say, in everything, up to the time that John Pope was appointed and confirmed, there has been in this case a war upon Pope to destroy him. Of course that board had no such idea in view, be-

cause neither of the two gentlemen who were in the board expecting the place would do such a thing. They are honorable gentlemen, and we exonerate them from everything of that kind; but it is curious that the attack has always been on Pope. I presume that will stop now, inasmuch as he has been appointed, and there will be no further necessity for making war upon him. Let us go a little into the unwritten history of this matter. Sir, it was very generally believed that Fitz-John Porter and George B. McClellan, and others that might be named, formed a little coterie in the Army of the East. One was to be President; what the others were to be, God only knows. McClellan had been relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and Pope had been put in his place. It was said, too, all through the campaign, that in every possible way he sneered at Pope, ridiculed him and his movements.

Mr. President, the Senator who votes that Fitz-John Porter was not convicted properly and legally, votes that he obeyed that order, or that it was impossible to obey it; any one who votes to relieve this man from the sentence of that court-martial, votes in the face of all the testimony that was given, even by his own friends, and votes that the court-martial found him guilty when he ought to have been found not guilty, when, in fact, the evidence shows that he never attempted to obey the order. The law says that he must obey it; that he subjects himself to the death to obey it. He violated the law, and violated the order; and yet, forsooth, you say he is not guilty! Well, if gentlemen can do that, it is for them to say, and not for me; but that is the fact, and there is the law. Under the law and the evidence, the judgment of that court-martial was as righteous a judgment as ever was given. It was just, it was right, because it was in accordance with the law, and in accordance with the evidence.

If commanders of divisions and corps are to be permitted to be judges for themselves, as to whether they will obey an order or not, then I would not give a straw for all the armies of the United States. If a corps commander or division commander say the same, why cannot their colonels and their captains say the same? What kind of an army would you have if you gentlemen

were all division commanders or corps commanders, and were off some miles, the enemy was approaching, and the commanding general should send orders to each one of you to concentrate at daylight to-morrow morning, for the reason that he expected either to make an attack or to be attacked, and each man should say, "Well, it is too dark; I will not go until to-morrow morning," and no one of you started? If one of you may disobey an order, all may. Suppose no one starts, and the general is left there with a small force to fight, the next morning, nobody to come to his rescue, nobody to obey his orders; what kind of an army would you have?

The truth is he was determined not to fight. He was determined not to obey that order. He was determined that John Pope should be whipped that day, which he was, or at least on the next day he was whipped, but that day was the cause of it. His troops were so broken up and demoralized that day that when the fresh troops came in he was not sufficiently strong to withstand the force that was brought against him. Will it do for any one to argue here that because a man thinks he has not force enough to whip an army, that therefore he must not assault that army if a fight is going on anywhere in connection with that and another army? Will any man say that it is good military discipline, that it is good soldierly quality, that it is the proper way for an officer to perform his duty? Would any one say so? What difference would it have made to him as a soldier? Suppose he had gone in there feeling that he would be whipped. He says in his own dispatch that he thinks Pope's army was being driven to the rear, that it was retiring. Was it any worse for him to be retiring than it was for some of the others to be retiring, or to be driven back than another? It is the fate of war that men shall be whipped. It is the fate of war that men shall be driven back and pushed forward. If I had a mind to stop here and quote the history of the different battles that we all know and are conversant with, so far as historical accounts are concerned, I could show where small detachments of troops have saved a great army. Without quoting it, read the battle of Marengo, where a small force, late, when the day was apparently lost, came in and won the battle.

When the Senator from New Jersey was quoting one of the maxims of Napoleon, I answered it by quoting another, that troops should always march to the sound of the enemy's guns. It was because that maxim of Napoleon was not followed out that Napoleon fell. It was because at the battle of Waterloo one of his generals did not march to the sound of the enemy's guns that lost Napoleon that battle and lost him his power. If the maxim of Napoleon had been followed out, in all probability he would have been successful on that battle-field as well as he was on others.

During the whole day, as Senators will understand from reading this evidence, the only order he gave that he executed was in reference to hiding his men in the woods when two little pieces of artillery at Hampton Cole's house fired a couple of pieces of railroad iron, as some of the witnesses state; others say that there were four shots fired; others say more, some say two, but it is immaterial. Suppose there were twenty shots fired, what was the order from General Porter? One battery, under Morrell, replied to it. The evidence shows that the rebel battery was silenced. What was Porter's order? It was to hide his men in the woods and deceive the enemy, to play the same game on them that they would play on him. Morrell reports back, "I put my troops all in the woods," except—what? "Except Hazlett's battery." He was told to put that in, too; but he testifies that he did not do that, for he wanted to reserve one battery for defense. That is the character of the orders that Fitz-John Porter gave on the twenty-ninth.

Mr. President, if this man had been a volunteer soldier he would not have been permitted to stay in this country. There is no man who was in the volunteer service—a mere volunteer—who would ever have had "cheek" enough to come before Congress, or any other body, and ask that this evidence be spread out before the world, and on it a reversal of his sentence. Sir, this only shows one of the dangers to the future of this country. Alas, sir! once on the bounty of the Government always on the bounty of the Government, no matter what wrongs they may perpetrate. See them swarm now at Washington, plying their influence in this unholy cause,

Last night when I made the statement that Longstreet's forces were engaged on the 29th, the Senator from New Jersey denied it. He said they were not engaged, and that if I could prove it I would put the chief commander in a very bad position. As I said then, I was not discussing the chief commander, but discussing the conduct of Fitz-John Porter. The truth is, the evidence, when taken altogether, shows that the Confederate testimony—at least as to the time of arrival of Longstreet on the battle-ground—is doubtful; it disagrees very materially with the evidence on the other side, showing the position the troops occupied near Groveton and by Lewis' Lane and by the Leachman House. At the time Fitz-John Porter made his first defense, as the Senator well knows, he claimed that there were only ten or fifteen thousand troops on his line that he would have to engage. Now he claims that there were 25,000. It was immaterial whether there were 25,000 or 50,000.

Gentlemen—try to excuse this man Porter, with 12,500 men, according to the reports, from attacking not the same number, or near the same number, as his own when the flank was exposed, and it was not a front attack. This is the most astounding thing to me I have ever known, that one minute they will insist that Porter thought there were 10,000 or 15,000 troops in his front and he was afraid to attack those, and then a great chief will come up and put the lines square in front and tell you there were 25,000 men there ready to drive Porter right in the front. Then you read the report of Lee, of Longstreet, of Stuart, of Rosser, of Hood, of every one of the Confederates—and I have their reports right here—they every one show that the corps of Porter was on Longstreet's flank, and they show that Longstreet had in the battle of Groveton from 4 o'clock that evening until 12 o'clock that night, when they were brought back on the road toward Haymarket, over twelve thousand troops engaged with Pope's command at Groveton which were drawn from his corps; and yet they insist that Porter would have had to attack twenty-five thousand men after he got the 4.30 order.

Sir, you may take this case from one end to the other, and it has the most singular history of any case that ever occurred dur-

ing any war. It shows that this man intended from the first that Pope should never succeed. He went just far enough to make a pretense of obeying orders without obeying them; just far enough only to have it understood that he tried in some degree to obey orders, but in this instance he tried in no degree. He refused to obey the orders, refused to move forward. Suppose it had been twelve o'clock at night. I remember a little incident that occurred once during the war, showing what a man may do after night. At Resaca there was a line of troops—probably the Senator from Georgia knows the situation of Resaca—opposite fortifications in the direction of a bridge that ran across the river. I suppose the Senator from Georgia remembers the bridge?

Mr. Brown—Yes, sir.

Mr. Logan—This line ran down to protect the fortifications, throwing a wing down in the direction of the river. They were occupied by a few troops—I do not know how many. A brigade under General Charles Woods, a brother of Judge Woods, of the Supreme Bench, who was in my command at the time, was ordered to assault those works at nine o'clock at night. He moved his brigade in the dark and got under cover of a little stream, and assaulted them at nine o'clock at night and took the works. Will a man tell me, when a small brigade can assault breastworks at nine o'clock at night, when no moon was shining—for it was a darker night than the one in question—that it is an excuse for an officer who receives an order to attack at once, that it is too late for him to attack? Why was it not too late for Longstreet's forces to attack Pope's forces near Groveton? Was it too late for McDowell's troops to be moving that night at eleven o'clock and twelve o'clock, when these two commanders, General Wilcox and General Hood, both report that they moved between eleven and twelve o'clock back on that road in the direction of Haymarket on the night of the 20th? Then you tell me it was too dark for this man to attack! Was it any worse for him to attack than it was for the other side? This reminds me of one peculiar feature that is always the case in war: a soldier who commands an army or part of an army, who has full opportunity to manage his troops, the next morning after a battle, if

you ask him as to the condition of his troops, will tell you, "They are cut all to pieces." I have heard it a hundred times: "My troops have been cut all to pieces." You will hear that from commanding officers of regiments, of brigades, and of divisions. But suppose you ask the question, "What do you think is the condition of the troops on the other side?" and the reply will be, "Cut all to pieces." But he does not think of that; he only thinks of his own troops; he does not think of the condition of the other side.

In conclusion, I want to ask Senators on both sides of this chamber, and I want some one to tell, why it is that when this case comes up it seems to be decided on political grounds. What is there in this case of politics? It is a mere question as to whether this man was properly convicted or improperly convicted. It is not a question that politics should enter into at all. It is the case of a man who was convicted during the war, while a great many of you gentlemen were down South organizing your courts-martial and trying your own officers if they misbehaved. You tried them according to the laws which you considered ruled and governed your army at that time. We tried ours on our side according to the rules which governed our army at that time, and govern it now.

Is it possible that history is going to record the fact with this man as guilty as he was of violating the orders sent to him, each and every one, upon which he was convicted, that our friends, because they differ with us in politics, because this man is of the politics they are, are going to decide, without reference to the facts and without reference to the law, the judgment of this court-martial should be reconsidered, set aside, and this man be put back in the army? There is no other ground on which you can do it. It is a prejudice against the court, against the parties at the time, and nothing else. I hope that does not exist; I hope that will not exist any longer. It should not.

I do not think it comes with the best grace for men who tried their own disobedient officers in their own way, to use their power and influence to restore officers whom we dismissed from our service in the army, in order to disgrace the courts which con-

victed them and the President who signed the warrants. I do not think it is policy for men to come here and undertake to reverse that which was done according to fact and according to law. Let those men who were derelict in duty on our side, whom we dealt with, go. They are of no service to you and none to us. They are of no more service to the country. They may serve themselves, but no one else.

With the views I entertain concerning this case, believing as I do that this man disobeyed lawful orders; that he disobeyed those orders without reference to the effect it would have upon the people of the United States; that he did it for the purpose of having Pope relieved and some one else put in his place who would be more congenial to him [Porter]—believing as I do that this man, out of his prejudice against McDowell, urged Patterson not to fight Johnston, which lost the first battle of Bull Run; that he refused to obey the first order he received from Pope to move to the field, refused to obey both orders that he received to rush forward and attack—believing all these facts to be completely proven by the evidence, and knowing the law to be what it is, authorizing the court to inflict the penalty of death, and when they inflicted the milder penalty—believing that they let this man off with a much less penalty than would have been adjudged had he been tried by a court-martial in any foreign country—with all these facts before me, with the knowledge I had of the generosity of President Lincoln, with the knowledge I had of the big-heartedness of General Garfield, with the knowledge I had of General Hunter, with the knowledge I had of the other officers who sat upon the court-martial, before I would give a vote to restore this man to the army and let him live the balance of his days on the bounty of the tax-payers of this country, I would go across the Potomac River and kneel down by that tomb on which is inscribed: “Here sleep the unknown dead;” I would go among those little white head-stones that mark the place where those boys sleep who fell on the battle-field of Groveton on the 29th of August, and I would there, in the presence of those whitening bones, on my knees, pray to Almighty God to forgive me for the wrong that I am

about to do to the dead who have gone, and the wrong I am about to inflict on this country, on this law, and on the facts by the restoration of this man to his place as an officer of the army. Sir, I would stand in the rays of the majestic king of day, and appeal to the sainted spirit of Abraham Lincoln, who has gone before us, and say: "Inasmuch as in examining this case you thought this man guilty and signed the order, and when he appealed to you again on the re-examination of this case you decline to take any action in it, before giving this vote for his restoration to the army, I appeal to you to take my hand and help me through this trouble, and forgive me for perpetrating the wrong against your good name."

Sir, I would turn again and recount the wrongs that have been tried to be perpetrated on the life and character of Garfield in reference to his views on this question. I would turn to him in his silent tomb, and say: "While you were in life and health, and sound in judgment, you gave this verdict, and by a re-examination of the whole record you prepared yourself again to defend that which you had done, but I, on account of the pressure, on account of what has been said by certain military men, am going out to do this great wrong for their sake. They are living, you are dead. O kind and generous spirit, forgive me that, in my weakness. I do your judgment, your conscience, and fair name a great wrong."

In spite of the fact that General Logan's poverty during his career has been patent proof of his unblemished integrity, it remained for him, after more than thirty years of his public life had elapsed, to be assailed as a "land-grabber" in the columns of the Democratic press of the country. As in the case of the charge of disloyalty at the beginning of the war, his complete refutation of the accusation was swift and all-sufficient. On the 4th of July, 1884, he rose in his place in the Senate and proceeded to put upon the *Record* his rebuke of the slander, which so completely demolished his accusers,

that the matter has not been referred to in the columns of the opposition newspapers since that date. He said :

Mr. President, I desire this morning to do that which I seldom do. It is to call the attention of the Senate to a matter personal to myself. I have prepared a statement which I desire to have the privilege of making now.

Mr. President, I deem it due to my friends that I call attention to certain statements which I find copied in the public press, as well as in the *Congressional Record* of the 27th of June.

First. I am set down in a list of what are termed "land-grabbers," as having in some mysterious way accumulated the vast amount of 80,000 acres of land. This statement is utterly without foundation in fact. The New York *Herald* of the 29th of June adds, 30,000 head of cattle. I wish this were true, but there is no foundation for the statement. I would take no notice of this, however, were it not for the charge that follows.

Second. The person who made the statement, after finding that it was untrue, instead of doing justice to one against whom he might, by his erroneous statements, have done an injury, proceeded to put another false statement on record, as follows :

"I might have said to the deluded soldiers of this land, 'What do you think of a great Senator who, in his greed to absorb the territory which belongs to the actual settler, in a land that was made for independent freeholders and small farmers—what do you think of a man who poses as a statesman and a patriot, as the friend *par excellence* of the soldier, and who, under the cover of his brother-in-law, went to New Mexico and tried to pre-empt the most valuable land lying along her streams, and was only estopped by the public officer finding out that it belonged to another class which he professes the utmost friendship for, and who from his manner and appearance rumor says has their blood in his veins, tried to steal from his own kith and kin hundreds of thousands of acres of land [great laughter and applause on the Democratic side], taking from the unfortunate savage who was unable to protect himself until an honest Secretary of the Interior went there with the surveyor and took back the land for the Zunis.'"

[Renewed laughter and applause.]

Mr. President, this statement is, so far as I am concerned, or any one else of whom I have any knowledge, maliciously false. Sir, what are the facts out of which this attack has been made? Captain Lawton, Major Tucker, and Mr. Stout located claims at Nutria Springs, in New Mexico, not, however, until after ascertaining from the General Land Office that the land was subject to location, being outside of the Indian reservation, and being some five miles from the Indian line, and some twenty-five or thirty miles from the town of Zuni. So it will be seen that the "hundreds of thousands of acres of land" that this man says I was "stealing from the Indians" resolves itself into three homesteads or "desert-act" claims located by two army officers and one citizen on public land open to such entry, with which location, however, I had nothing to do.

Mr. President, in order to prove every statement that I have made to be true, I will first read the letter of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, of date December 7th, 1882, which shows that this land was subject to location and entry as public land at the time it was so located, and if not, that the location would have been subject to cancellation. Any one who will examine the numbers will find that those mentioned as subject to entry are entirely outside of the reservation, and cover the ones taken by the persons mentioned.

I ask the Secretary to read the letter of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, which was sent to the land office at Santa Fé prior to these locations.

The President *pro tempore*—The letter will be read if there be no objection.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., December 7, 1882.

"GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your letter of November 23d, 1882, asking whether townships 12 north of ranges 16 and 17 west are within the reservation for the Zuni Indians, as the same are unsurveyed, and you have several applications for desert-land entries in said townships.

"In reply you are informed that as near as can be ascertained from our records township 12 north of range 16 west is outside,

while of township 12 north of range 17 west probably only sections 25, 26, 33, and 36 are within the reservation.

"When said townships are surveyed, the reservation may be found to embrace more of the land than that mentioned; and if any desert-land entries are found to have been located within the reservation, they will be held for cancellation.

"Very respectfully,

N. C. McFARLAND,

"Commissioner.

"*Register and Receiver, Santa Fé, N. Mex.*"

Mr. Logan—I will now call attention to a letter of Major Tucker, giving the facts in connection with the location of the lands mentioned by him and his associates:

"PAY DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES ARMY,
SANTA FÉ, N. MEX., May 3, 1883.

"DEAR SIR: The inclosed copy of an order from the Commissioner of General Land Office to the Surveyor-General of New Mexico indicates that there is some disposition to interfere with and change the location of the Zuni reservation, surveyed under an Executive order of President Hayes.

"I desire to call your attention to the fact that lands in townships 12 north, range 16 west, and 12 north, range 17 west, from headwaters of the Nutria in section 8, township 12 north, range 16 west, following the course of the Nutria to the Zuni reservation line to the southwest, in township 12 north, range 17 west, were located by myself and associates, and the laws complied with, the money paid with the usual certificates of location in our possession, the land at the time being Government land, as shown by the Land Department maps, and subject to such locations and entry. This land was entered in good faith, known not to be on the Zuni reservation by all the officers of the Land Department, and also known to the agent for the Pueblo Indians. In the name and for those having made said locations and entries, I respectfully protest against any action that would be calculated to interfere with our said rights acquired under the law. Soon after these entries were made, an officious person, who thinks he has the Indian interests at heart, commenced making a disturbance in reference to these entries, and procured an attack to be made upon Senator Logan, charging him with having in violation of law entered this property, when in fact he had not done so, but had stated to myself and others that the land was subject to location and entry.

“I desire to call your attention to the following proposition :

“1. The Zuni Indians, as well as all the other Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, were citizens of Mexico, capable of holding land in their own right, the Zunis having a grant of land from the Mexican Government, which was confirmed to them by the United States Government under the treaty with Mexico ; they are citizens of the United States, and have so been held by the courts. This being the case, the right of President Hayes to give to them the land of the Government by an Executive order is a question that might well be considered.

“2. The grant, as well as the land claimed to be set apart for them by President Hayes, is well watered, the Nutria River, formed by different springs, running entirely through the land given to them by President Hayes' order ; also, the Rio Piscado running entirely through the Zuni Valley and through their grant. To now extend by an Executive order the reservation set aside by the Hayes 'order' so as to compel a survey on a straight line or any other line to include the Nutria Spring within their reservation, would take every drop of water in the two valleys, totally depriving every other section of Government land in that locality of any water whatever, rendering a large body of land entirely useless, and depriving the Government of any disposition of the same.

“These entries in no wise affect the interests of the Indians, and we cannot see why the rights of other people should be disturbed merely to satisfy the wailings of some disappointed persons, who did not get the land themselves, and now wish to put the Indians forward to do an injury to others merely to gratify their own vindictive feelings.

“I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“W. F. TUCKER, JR.,

“*United States Army.*

“*Hon. H. M. TELLER, Secretary Interior Department, Washington, D. C.*”

I will next call the attention of the Senate to a letter of Captain Lawton, giving a full statement of the facts in connection with his location :

“SANTA FÉ, May 19, 1883.

“SIR : In view of an article recently published in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, attacking you personally, and charging you with complicity in a combination to defraud the Zuni Indians of certain lands, etc., and repeated in different forms by other papers throughout the country, I desire to submit for such use as you

may wish to make of it the facts concerning the subject to the charges above mentioned. With reference to the location of the land, in the first instance, I have only to say that all the facts can be ascertained at the office of the register of the land office in this city. As there is no allegation that you have made any entry, little need be said on that point. I was the first to see the land and to suggest its location, and took active steps toward completing the entries. I will simply say that in making the location every precaution was taken to prevent injustice being done the Zunis or other parties. The land was not on the reservation, is not shown on the reservation by any map ever issued by the Land or Indian Department. The land had been surveyed regularly by the United States surveyor, platted, and the plats were on file in the office of the register, and the land was subject to entry by any citizen under the laws. At the time of making the application for the land, the existence of the Executive order of President Hayes was unknown to me. Afterward I procured a copy of said order, went with it to the Land Office, and suspended my application until a decision from the Land Department at Washington could be made. In due time the decision was returned, and it was to the effect that the land in question was subject to entry. I was informed by the register that there were other applicants for the land, that he had held my application as long as he could, and I must then decide whether I would locate or not; if I did not, he would accept the next applicant. As to the question of stock range or ranch, I have to say, being aware of the profitableness of stock-raising, properly conducted, I conceived the idea that if we (Major Tucker, Mr. Stout, and myself, who had located on the Nutria), could agree we might induce parties with capital to take an interest in our place and stock a ranch for us.

"The matter was first broached by me and discussed with Major Tucker, who, while he was not sanguine, was not averse to the proposition. The first knowledge, I think, you had that such an idea was contemplated was a letter I wrote you this spring, representing the case to you and asking your interest and influence to procure capital, etc. To this letter I received no reply, but believing the idea feasible, I arranged to employ Mr. Samuel Collins, a stockman, an old ranch manager, then in charge of a ranch in Lincoln County, to visit our location, examine it with a view to its capacity for stock, and to make a report.

"After consulting Major Tucker he agreed to share the expenses with me, and Mr. Collins was employed for one month for

this purpose. After completing his examination he returned to Santa Fé, was taken sick, and as a result was still here when you arrived, up to which time I am sure you knew nothing whatever of the existence of such a person—certainly not from me.

"There is not nor has there been any company or organization for the purpose of buying or owning land, raising stock, or starting a ranch on the Nutria, in which you or any other person is or was interested.

"My entry of land on the Nutria was made in good faith for myself, and no other person has any interest in my locations. No money has been spent, work done, or other steps taken toward locating a ranch on the property in question other than I have stated. And any and all statements to the contrary, or that there is or has been a combination either to secure land or start a ranch for your benefit, or for the benefit of any person other than those appearing on the record of the land office, is untrue.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"H. W. LAWTON,

"*Captain Fourth Cavalry.*

"*General JOHN A. LOGAN.*"

I will now call attention to the letter of Colonel James Stevenson, of the United States Geological Survey, who knows more about the Indians mentioned and their lands than any person of my acquaintance. He has investigated this question at the request of the Secretary of the Interior :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 30, 1884.

"DEAR SIR : Having had my attention called to statements in the *Congressional Record* of a recent date, indirectly charging you with fraudulently attempting to deprive the Zuni Indians of New Mexico of their lands, I beg to say that I am familiar with the facts and circumstances, from a thorough investigation of the subject made at the request of the honorable Secretary of the Interior, and take pleasure in stating that the allegations thus made are grossly unjust to you, as well as Major Tucker and his associates, and wholly without foundation.

"Very respectfully yours,

"JAMES STEVENSON.

"*Hon. JOHN A. LOGAN, United States Senate.*"

I now call attention to letter of July 2, 1884, written by the

Secretary of the Interior to myself, which gives all the facts, and shows that not only these locations were legal and proper, but that the Executive order extending the "Zuni" reservation over these locations was made under a misunderstanding of the facts in the premises, and that the whole statement or accusation against any one having committed any wrong is utterly false:

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
"WASHINGTON, July 2, 1884.

"DEAR SIR: In reply to your verbal inquiries concerning the Executive order of May 1, 1883, extending the Zuni reservation, allow me to say that the reservation of the Zuni Indians was established by Executive order dated March 16, 1877. An order of this character does not of course give the Indians title to the lands; it only withdraws the lands included within the reservation from the operation of the settlement laws.

"On April 28, 1883, it was reported from the Indian Office that in draughting the Executive order establishing the said reservation there had been an error leaving out of the reservation a large spring that was not only desirable, but necessary, for the use of the Indians. I therefore requested the President to modify the order so as to include within the lands of the reservation said spring. I was verbally informed that certain army officers had made locations under the Desert-land Act of lands in the vicinity of the spring that would be included in the reservation by the terms of the new order, but that they had expressed a willingness to surrender their claims if the Government desired to have the lands for the Indians. I subsequently understood that Major Tucker was one of the officers who had made filing under said act. Major Tucker soon after informed me that the Indians did not use the waters of the spring, and did not need either the water or the land.

"On the 1st of February, 1884, I requested Mr. James Stevenson, of the Geological Bureau, who is very familiar with the reservation and the surrounding country, to make an examination of the said spring and the amount of water on the reservation, and to report to me. In April last he made his report, by which it appears that the Indians on the reservation have made no use of the water of the spring mentioned, and have not occupied, either before or since, the lands included in the new lines of the reservation.

"There is not the slightest evidence that any wrong was intended

or done by the parties to the entries above referred to, or any law violated. The land was public land at the time these entries were made, and as such was open to entry by the public. The gentlemen who made the entries were qualified to enter such lands, and had a perfect right to do so, and they neither violated law nor the rights of any parties whatever in so doing. I asked the Executive order extending this reservation without understanding all the facts at the time. It gives me pleasure to make this statement in view of the allegations to the contrary which have been made.

Very respectfully,

“H. M. TELLER, *Secretary*.

“Hon. JOHN A. LOGAN, *United States Senate Chamber*.”

When Major Tucker and his associates, as well as myself, were attacked through the newspapers, and charged with interfering with the rights of the Indians and doing a great wrong, I defended them in a letter through the public press and otherwise as having violated no law, and as having committed no fraud on the Indians or any one else. In that defense I asked the question, “If a soldier like Captain Lawton could not locate a homestead (or pre-emption, or whatever the location was) within the distance he had located from an Indian reservation, to tell me how many miles a soldier would have to go away from a reservation in order to comply with the law.” This I did in their behalf. I now stand by what I did then. If this be a crime or a fraud, my enemies may make the most of it.

These men are all three honorable men. Captain Lawton was a gallant soldier from Indiana; he served all through the war with great credit to himself and honor to his country. Major Tucker is my son-in-law. He is a gentleman, and a man who would not wrong any one. I presume the wrong in me is that Major Tucker is a part of my family; and although he is innocent of any wrong in the premises, a baseless excuse was made to assail me through him. If the object was to draw me into his defense, it has succeeded; and when any one thinks I have not manhood enough to defend openly any of my family or friends when wrongfully assailed, he mistakes me.

This, sir, is a full answer to this false, unprovoked, and malicious slander, which I place on record where all may have access to it.

CHAPTER IX.

LOGAN ON THE PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.

The uncertainty prior to the Convention.—No anti-Convention canvass.—Illinois' spontaneous support of Logan.—Senator Cullom nominates Logan.—His name received with tremendous applause.—Shown to hold the balance of power upon the first ballot.—He withdraws in favor of Mr. Blaine.—Urged to take the Vice-Presidency.—He leaves the matter to the Convention.—Senator Plumb, of Kansas, places him in nomination.—The unanimous choice of the delegates.—The enthusiasm aroused in the country.—The ratification meeting at Washington.—He is officially notified.—His remarks on that occasion.—Logan's letter of acceptance.—A ringing document.—Its full text.—His reception since the nomination in Maine, Ohio, New York, and elsewhere.—He visits Mr. Blaine.—Goes to the re-union of the Grand Army of the Republic at Minneapolis.—Addresses briefly 10,000 people at the Chataqua Assembly.—Grand demonstration at Chicago.—Logan addressing the people.—On the high tide of popularity.

WHEN the roll of States was called for the presentation of candidates at the Republican National Convention which assembled at Chicago, June 3d, 1884, the State of Illinois put in nomination General John A. Logan for the Presidency. Prior to the assembling of the Convention the public mind had been in a state of uncertainty—in remarkable variance from the usual condition of things before a Presidential contest. The situation was in strong contrast with that of four years previous. There was no sharp preliminary contest for securing pledged delegates in the country generally. Indeed, aside from the State of New York, there was nowhere an ante-convention-canvass where the lines were sharply drawn between the adherents of rival aspirants for the nomination. It is doubtful if such a neutral attitude upon the question of preference within any political party for the highest office in

its gift had existed before in the history of the Republic. In fact, the bitterness which had been generated by the fierce struggle within the organization in 1880, had not been without its lesson, and Republican leaders wisely sought in 1884, by a systematic avoidance of an acrimonious canvass, to escape from the inevitable results which must follow the defeat or success of any candidate who has been made the representative of a clearly defined faction.

In consonance with the temperate position of the party leaders everywhere, the advocates of General Logan's nomination desisted from organized effort in his behalf prior to the Convention, in any part of the country, save within the boundaries of his own State. Indeed, even here no aggressive campaign was necessary, because his endorsement by the people was spontaneous.

His availability was widely discussed, however, and it was urged in his behalf, that his ripe experience in statesmanship, his popularity with the military class of the West, as the beau-ideal of the volunteer soldier, his alliance with the Methodist Church and his Irish origin, embraced elements which would make him exceptionally strong with the people of the country at large. In addition to these points advanced in his favor, there remained his spotless reputation for personal integrity, which had never been successfully assailed throughout his long public career.

After the organization of the Convention and the adoption of a platform, nominations were declared to be in order. The State of Connecticut presented the name of General Joseph R. Hawley, after which Illinois was the next State to respond. Senator Shelby M. Cullom acted as spokesman for the State, and when he arose to nominate General Logan, he was received with a whirlwind of applause. When he proceeded through his preliminary remarks up to the mention of Logan's name,

the entire audience of 15,000 persons fairly shook the building with the tremendous response of cheers, showing the hold which he had upon the hearts of the people. When the cheering subsided, after being renewed again and again, the speaker resumed :

A native of the State which he represents in the council of the nation, reared among the youth of a section where every element of manhood is early brought into play, he is eminently a man of the people. [Applause.] The safety, the permanency, and the prosperity of the nation depend upon the courage, the integrity, and the loyalty of its citizens. When yonder starry flag was assailed by enemies in arms, when the integrity of the Union was imperiled by an organized treason, when the storm of war threatened the very life of this nation, this gallant son of the Prairie State resigned his seat in the Congress of the United States, returned to his home, and was the first of our citizens to raise a regiment and to march to the front in defense of his country. [Applause.] Like Douglas, he believed that in time of war men must be either patriots or traitors, and he threw his mighty influence on the side of the Union, and Illinois made a record second to none in the history of States in the struggle to preserve this Government. [Applause.] His history is the record of the battles of Belmont, of Donelson, of Shiloh, of Vicksburg, of Lookout Mountain, of Atlanta, and of the famous march to the sea. [Great applause.] I repeat again, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens [applause], he never lost a battle in all the war. [Applause.] When there was fighting to be done he did not wait for others, nor did he fail to obey orders when they were received. His plume—the white plume of Henry of Navarre—was always to be seen at the point where the battle raged the hottest. [Applause.] During the long struggle of four years he commanded under the authority of the Government, first a regiment, then a brigade, then a division, then an army corps, and finally an army. He remained in the service until the war closed, when, at the head of his army, with the scars of battle upon him, he marched into the capital of the

nation, and with the brave men whom he had led on a hundred hard-fought fields, was mustered out of the service under the very shadow of the Capitol building which he had left four years before, as a member of Congress, to go and fight the battles of his country. When the war was over and genial peace victoriously returned, he was again invited by his fellow-citizens to take his place in the councils of the nation. In a service of twenty years in both houses of Congress, he has shown himself to be no less able and distinguished as a citizen than he was renowned as a soldier. Conservative in the advocacy of measures involving the public welfare, ready and eloquent in debate, fearless—yes, I repeat again, fearless—in defense of the rights of the weak against the oppressions of the strong, he stands to-day closer to the great mass of the people of this country than almost any other man now engaging public attention. [Applause.] No man has done more in defense of these principles which have given life and spirit and victory to the Republican party than has John A. Logan, of Illinois. [Applause.] In all that goes to make up a brilliant military and civil career, and to commend a man to the favor of the people, he whose name we have presented here to-night has shown himself to be the peer of the best.

General Prentiss seconded the nomination of General Logan in a brief but telling speech, and the roll-call was then resumed.

After the other candidates had been named the Convention adjourned that night without a ballot, opening the fourth and last day's session at 11:20 o'clock A. M. the next day. The result of the first ballot showed that General Logan held the balance of power in the Convention. The total number of votes was 820. Mr. Blaine received 334½; Mr. Arthur, 278; Mr. Edmonds, 93; General Logan, 63½; Senator Sherman, 30; General Hawley, 13; Secretary Lincoln, 4, and General W. T. Sherman, 2. There was one vote not cast in the Alabama delegation, and another absent in the Louisiana delegation.

The second and third ballots exhibited a steady increase for Mr. Blaine.

General Logan was at his home in Washington, receiving by telegraph the results, from time to time, of the proceedings at Chicago, and upon the announcement of the third ballot instantly came to the conclusion that his duty as a Republican dictated that he should yield to the evident wish of those States of the Union to whom his party must look for a majority, and he therefore withdrew in favor of Mr. Blaine, making the latter's nomination on the next ballot a foregone conclusion.

In carrying out his decision, he wired the following dispatch to be read to his friends at the Convention :

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1884.

To Senator CULLOM, Convention Hall, Chicago, Ill.:

The Republicans of the States that must be relied upon to elect the President having shown a preference for Mr. Blaine, I deem it my duty not to stand in the way of the people's choice, and recommend my friends to assist in his nomination.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

The announcement of its contents by Senator Cullom, at once demonstrated the fact that the next ballot would be a mere formality, and that in point of fact the battle was decided by this *coup d'etat* on the part of Logan. The latter took the step he did with that instantaneous decision which has characterized his career in every emergency, not because he wished to dictate to the Convention its nominee, but because he regarded it best for the interests of his party, as shown in his dispatch. After the act was done he had no regrets, and dismissed without a pang whatever ambition he may have cherished for the position of the greatest honor in the Nation.

Immediately after the nomination of the candidate for President, dispatches began to pour in upon General Logan from all parts of the country, urging him to accept the second place upon the ticket. To these overtures he made no response, not wishing to trammel the action of his friends or of the Convention. Finally, in reply to persistent and repeated messages, he sent the following :

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6th,
7.30, P. M.

A. M. JONES,
Grand Pacific, Chicago.

The Convention must do what they think best under the circumstances.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

From that moment there was no doubt of the result. The enthusiasm for him was unanimous and irresistible.

When the Convention re-assembled in the evening, it was well understood that no candidate for Vice-President would stand a moment before him. Senator Plumb, of Kansas, took the stand and proceeded to place him in nomination in the following language :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION : This Convention has already discharged two of the most serious obligations which rested upon it—the adoption of a platform and the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. The platform is one upon which all good Republicans and all good citizens can unite, and of which they can well be proud. The candidate for the Presidency needs no eulogium from me, and I can also say for him that he can meet any man in the Democratic party, whether that man be dead or alive. Upon that statement it might seem a matter of comparative indifference as to who should fill the second place; but, Mr. President and gentlemen, there is such a thing as proportion. Having nominated a statesman

of approved reputation, a man of whom we are all proud, we owe it to the party to nominate the best and most available man we have for the second place.

Mr. President, this is the first time in the history of the Republican party since the war when the man who is to fill the first place is not a soldier. There are a million men yet living who served their country in the late war. And now, Mr. President, twenty years after the lapse of that war they are bound together by ties as strong as they ever were while serving under arms, and the great brotherhood of the soldiers of the United States is one of the most important factors in the social and political life of the American Republic. It is due not as a matter of availability, but as a matter of just recognition to that great body of soldiery who made the Republican party possible, that a fit representative of theirs should have the second place upon the team—a man who, wise within himself, has not only the qualities of a soldier, but also the qualities of a statesman—because the American people are becoming more considerate of the second place upon the national ticket, and it is a matter of grave concern that the man to be chosen shall be fit to step into the shoes of the man in the first place.

Mr. President, as I said, if it were only a question of electing a ticket we might nominate anybody. But it is more than that. It is not only a question of carrying and electing a President and Vice-President, but it is a question of the election of a majority of the House of Representatives in Congress. It is a question of rehabilitating States where the Legislatures have been lost, and consequently Representatives in the Senate have been equally lost. You want especially to strengthen this ticket, if so it may be, by adding to it a man who has his representatives in all portions of this broad land, in every township, in every school district, in every Representative district, and in every county, in order that the ticket may be carried to the farthest confines of the Republic, and its remotest places, with that good-will and recognition which will make sure of a full vote.

We have come to that point since the war when the kindly feeling growing out of association has come to be a power, and

out of that kindly feeling has grown the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic, which has now in its communion more than three-fourths of the men who lately wore the blue. They are Republicans because the Republican party is true to them, to their interests, and to all those things for which they fought and sacrificed; and it is only just and proper that, in making tickets and in making platforms, we should recognize that great body of honorable and self-sacrificing men.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in presenting to you a candidate, I shall present one to you who I believe fills all the qualifications necessary for even the first place upon this ticket; a man whose military and civil record will not be obscured by even so brilliant a one as that of the head of the ticket. That is the kind of a man that we want—a man tried in war and in peace, a man who has in every capacity in which he has been tried so acted that to-day his name and fame are a part of the proud heritage of the American people. By the terms of your resolution you have abridged that which I would say, but it is enough for me to say that the man whom I present for your consideration, believing that he will add strength to the ticket, and believing that he will justify the words I have spoken, is General John A. Logan, of Illinois.

His reputation is no more the property of Illinois than it is of Kansas; but there are 75,000 ex-soldiers of the late war upon the prairies of Kansas who, with one accord, when they hear of the nomination of John A. Logan, will rise up and endorse it and ratify it. I know Illinois begrudges him to the country; like Hosea Bigelow's wife, they want him for home consumption. But, Mr. President, it is a command which we have a right to lay upon them, and I know that in Illinois, with that command upon them, they will do as General Logan would do himself. He obeys the duty and obligation of party, the command of the party and country; and, in fact, he never disobeyed but one order, and that was when he disobeyed an order not to fight a battle.

Therefore, in behalf of the ex-soldiers of the Union, in behalf of the State of Kansas, by whom I am commissioned for this purpose, and in behalf generally of the great body of the Repub-

lican party of the Union who admire and esteem this man, I present his name for your consideration, and hope that he may receive the nomination at your hands.

The nomination was seconded by half a dozen or more of the most prominent men in the great gathering.

Upon the call of the roll he received 779 votes, after which the nomination was made unanimous.

That night General Logan sent the following dispatch :

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1884.

Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE, Augusta, Me.

I most heartily congratulate you on your nomination. You will be elected. Your friend,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

To which Mr. Blaine responded :

General JOHN A. LOGAN, Washington, D. C.

I am proud and honored in being associated with you in the National campaign.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

General Logan's nomination was received with an unprecedented outburst of enthusiasm all over the country. It was instinctively felt that the Republican party, contrary to the usual custom, did not this year propose to drive a tandem team, but had selected leaders who would move abreast in the great contest. The press of the country united in sounding his praises as soldier, statesman, and a "man of the people." The Illinois association at Washington took occasion in a formal manner to express its satisfaction. The soldiers and sailors of the late war also made an appropriate demonstration, tendering a serenade to General Logan, on which occasion addresses were made by several of the most prominent public men at the National Capital. At the grand ratification meeting held in Washington, on the 20th of June, at which

Senator Sherman, Senator Hawley, and Congressmen Milliken of Maine, Miller of Pennsylvania, Horr of Michigan, Smalls, O'Hara, Goff, Senator Frye, Senator Harrison, and others spoke, General Logan received a large share of attention from the orators of the evening.

The committee appointed at the Chicago Convention, composed of one delegate from each State and Territory of the Union, charged with the duty of notifying the candidates officially of the action of the party, waited upon General Logan on the 24th of June. The chairman, General Henderson, of Missouri, read the following notification :

Senator Logan, the gentlemen present constitute a committee of the Republican Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, charged with the duty of communicating to you the formal notice of your nomination by that Convention as a candidate for Vice-President of the United States. You are not unaware of the fact that your name was presented to the Convention and urged by a large number of the delegates as a candidate for President. So soon, however, as it became apparent that Mr. Blaine, your colleague on the ticket, was the choice of the party for that high office, your friends, with those of other competitors, promptly yielded their individual preferences to the manifest wish of the majority. In tendering you this nomination we are able to assure you it was made without opposition, and with an enthusiasm seldom witnessed in the history of nominating conventions.

We are gratified to know that in a career of great usefulness and distinction you have most efficiently aided in the enactment of those measures of legislation and of constitutional reform in which the Convention found special cause for party congratulation. The principles enunciated in the platform adopted will be recognized by you as the same which have so long governed and controlled your political conduct. The pledges made by the party find guarantee of performance in the fidelity with

which you have heretofore discharged every trust confided to your keeping.

In your election the people of this country will furnish new proof of the excellency of our institutions. Without wealth, without help from others, without any resources except those of heart, conscience, intellect, energy, and courage, you have won a high place in the world's history, and secured the confidence and affections of your countrymen. Being one of the people, your sympathies are with the people. In civil life your chief care has been to better their condition, to secure their rights, and to perpetuate our liberties. When the Government was threatened with armed treason you entered its service as a private, became a commander of armies, and are now the idol of the citizen soldiers of the Republic. Such, in the judgment of your party, is the candidate it has selected, and in behalf of that party we ask you to accept this nomination.

To this General Logan responded as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE : I receive your visit with pleasure and accept with gratitude the sentiments you have so generously expressed in the discharge of the duty with which you have been entrusted by the National Convention. Intending to address you a formal communication shortly, in accordance with the recognized usage, it would be out of place to detain you at this time with remarks which properly belong to the official utterances of my letter of acceptance. I may be permitted to say, however, that though I did not seek the nomination for Vice-President I accept it as a trust reposed in me by the Republican party, to the advancement of whose broad policy on all questions connected with the progress of our Government and our people I have dedicated my best energies, and with this acceptance I may properly signify my approval of the platform and principles adopted by the Convention. I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred on me by my friends in so unanimous a manner tendering me this nomination, and I sincerely thank them for this tribute. I am not unmindful of the great responsibility attaching to the office, and if elected I

shall enter upon the performance of its duties with a firm conviction that he who has such unanimous support of his party friends, as the circumstances connected with the nomination and your own words, Mr. Chairman, indicate, and consequently with such a wealth of counsel to draw upon, cannot fail in the proper way to discharge the duties devolving upon him. I tender you my thanks for the kind expressions you have made, and I offer you and your fellow-committee-men my most hearty thanks.

In due time General Logan's formal letter of acceptance appeared. It has been widely and favorably commented upon, and will speak for itself. It is as follows :

WASHINGTON, July 19, 1884.

DEAR SIR : Having received from you on the 24th of June the official notification of my nomination by the National Republican Convention as the Republican candidate for Vice-President of the United States, and considering it to be the duty of every man devoting himself to the public service to assume any position to which he may be called by the voice of his countrymen, I accept the nomination with a grateful heart and deep sense of its responsibilities, and if elected shall endeavor to discharge the duties of the office to the best of my ability.

This honor, as is well understood, was wholly unsought by me. That it was tendered by the representatives of a party, in a manner so flattering, will serve to lighten whatever labors I may be called upon to perform.

Although the variety of subjects covered in the very excellent and vigorous declaration of principles adopted by the late Convention prohibits, upon an occasion calling for brevity of expression, that full elaboration of which they are susceptible, I avail myself of party usage to signify my approval of the various resolutions of the platform, and to discuss them briefly.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

The resolution of the platform declaring for a levy of such

duties "as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the National prosperity," meets my hearty approval.

If there be a Nation on the face of the earth which might, if it were a desirable thing, build a wall upon its every boundary line, deny communion to all the world, and proceed to live upon its own resources and productions, that Nation is the United States. There is hardly a legitimate necessity of civilized communities which cannot be produced from the extraordinary resources of our several States and Territories, with their manufactories, mines, farms, timber lands, and water-ways. This circumstance, taken in connection with the fact that our form of government is entirely unique among the Nations of the world, makes it utterly absurd to institute comparisons between our own economic systems and those of other governments, and especially to attempt to borrow systems from them. We stand alone in our circumstances, our forces, our possibilities, and our aspirations. In all successful government it is a prime requisite that capital and labor should be upon the best terms, and that both should enjoy the highest attainable prosperity. If there be a disturbance of that just balance between them, one or the other suffers, and dissatisfaction follows which is harmful to both.

The lessons furnished by the comparatively short history of our National life have been too much overlooked by our people. The fundamental article in the old Democratic creed proclaimed almost absolute free trade, and this, too, no more than a quarter of a century ago. The low condition of our National credit, the financial and business uncertainties and general lack of prosperity under that system, can be remembered by every man now in middle life.

Although in the great number of reforms instituted by the Republican party sufficient credit has not been publicly awarded to that of tariff reform, its benefits have, nevertheless, been felt throughout the land. The principle underlying this measure has been in process of gradual development by the Republican party

during the comparatively brief period of its power, and to-day a portion of its antiquated Democratic opponents make unwilling concession to the correctness of the doctrine of an equitably adjusted protective tariff, by following slowly in its footsteps, though a very long way in the rear. The principle involved is one of no great obscurity, and can be readily comprehended by any intelligent person calmly reflecting upon it. The political and social systems of some of our trade-competing nations have created working classes miserable in the extreme. They receive the merest stipend for their daily toil, and, in the great expense of the necessities of life, are deprived of those comforts of clothing, housing, and health-producing food, with which wholesome mental and social recreation can alone make existence happy and desirable. Now, if the products of those countries are to be placed in our markets, alongside of American products, either the American capitalist must suffer in his legitimate profits, or he must make the American laborer suffer in the attempt to compete with the species of labor above referred to. In the case of a substantial reduction of pay there can be no compensating advantages for the American laborer, because the articles of daily consumption which he uses—with the exception of articles not produced in the United States and easy of being specially provided for, as coffee and tea—are grown in our own country, and would not be affected in price by a lowering of duties. Therefore, while he would receive less for his labor, his cost of living would not be decreased. Being practically placed upon the pay of the European laborer, our own would be deprived of facilities for educating and sustaining his family respectably; he would be shorn of the proper opportunities of self-improvement, and his value as a citizen, charged with a portion of the obligations of government, would be lessened, the moral tone of the laboring class would suffer, and in them the interests of capital and the well-being of orderly citizens in general would be menaced, while one evil would react upon another until there would be a general disturbance of the whole community. The true problem of a good and stable government is, how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic,

and the laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security for capital, and the very best guarantee of general peace and happiness.

The obvious policy of our Government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people.

The National Convention, in view of the special dangers menacing the wool interest of the United States, deemed it wise to adopt a separate resolution on the subject of its proper protection. This industry is a very large and important one. The necessary legislation to sustain this industry upon a prosperous basis should be extended.

None realizes more fully than myself the great delicacy and difficulty of adjusting a tariff so nicely and equitably as to protect every industry, sustain every class of American labor, promote to the highest position great agricultural interests, and at the same time to give to one and all the advantages pertaining to foreign productions not in competition with our own, thus not only building up foreign commerce, but taking measures to carry it in our own bottoms.

Difficult as this work appears, and really is, it is susceptible of accomplishment by patient and intelligent labor, and to no hands can it be committed with as great assurance of success as to those of the Republican party.

AN UNEQUALED MONETARY SYSTEM.

The Republican party is the indisputable author of a financial and monetary system which it is safe to say has never before been equaled by that of any other nation.

Under the operation of our system of finance the country was safely carried through an extended and expensive war, with a national credit which has risen higher and higher with each succeeding year, until now the credit of the United States is surpassed by that of no other nation, while its securities, at a constantly increasing premium, are eagerly sought after by investors in all parts of the world.

Our system of currency is most admirable in construction. While all the conveniences of a bill circulation attach to it, every dollar of paper represents a dollar of the world's money standards, and as long as the just and wise policy of the Republican party is continued there can be no impairment of the national credit. Therefore under present laws relating thereto, it will be impossible for any man to lose a penny in the bonds or bills of the United States, or in the bills of the national banks.

The advantage of having a bank-note in the house which will be as good in the morning as it was the night before, should be appreciated by all. The convertibility of the currency should be maintained intact, and the establishment of an international standard among all commercial nations, fixing the relative values of gold and silver coinage, would be a measure of peculiar advantage.

INTER-STATE, FOREIGN COMMERCE, AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The subjects embraced in the resolutions respectively looking to the promotion of our inter-State and foreign commerce and the matter of our foreign relations, are fraught with the greatest importance to our people.

In respect to inter-State commerce there is much to be desired in the way of equitable rates and facilities of transportation, that commerce may flow freely between the States themselves, diversity of industries and employments be promoted in all sections of our country, and that the great granaries and manufacturing establishments of the interior may be enabled to send their products to the seaboard for shipment to foreign countries, relieved of vexatious restrictions and discriminations in matters of which it may emphatically be said "time is money," and also of unjust charges upon articles destined to meet close competition from the products of other parts of the world.

As to our foreign commerce, the enormous growth of our industries, and our surprising production of cereals and other necessities of life, imperatively require that immediate and effective means be taken, through peaceful, orderly, and conservative methods to open markets which have been and are now monop-

lized largely by other nations. This more particularly relates to our sister republics of Spanish America, as also to our friends the people of the Brazilian Empire. The republics of Spanish America are allied to us by the very closest and warmest feelings, based upon similarity of institutions and government, common aspirations, and mutual hopes. The "Great Republic," as they proudly term the United States, is looked upon by their people with affection and admiration, and as the model for them to build upon, and we should cultivate between them and ourselves closer commercial relations, which will bind all together by the ties of friendly intercourse and mutual advantage. Further than this, being small commonwealths, in the military and naval sense of the European powers, they look to us as, at least, a moral defender against a system of territorial and other encroachments which, aggressive in the past, have not been abandoned at this day. Diplomacy and intrigue have done much more to wrest the commerce of Spanish America from the United States than has legitimate commercial competition.

Politically we should be bound to the republics of our continent by the closest ties, and communication by ships and railroads should be encouraged to the fullest possible extent consistent with a wise and conservative public policy. Above all, we should be upon such terms of friendship as to preclude the possibility of national misunderstandings between ourselves and any of the members of the American republican family. The best method to promote uninterrupted peace between one and all would lie in the meeting of a general conference or congress, whereby an agreement to submit all international differences to the peaceful decisions of friendly arbitration might be reached. An agreement of this kind would give to our sister republics confidence in each other and in us, closer communication would at once ensue, and reciprocally advantageous commercial treaties might be made, whereby much of the commerce which now flows across the Atlantic would seek its legitimate channels, and inure to the greater prosperity of all the American commonwealths. The full advantages of a policy of this nature can not be stated in a brief discussion like the present.

FOREIGN POLITICAL RELATIONS.

The United States has grown to be a Government representing more than 50,000,000 people, and in every sense, excepting that of mere naval power, is one of the first nations of the world. As such, its citizenship should be valuable, entitling its possessor to protection in every quarter of the globe. I do not consider it necessary that our Government should construct enormous fleets of approved iron-clads, and maintain a commensurate body of seamen, in order to place ourselves on a war-footing with the military and naval powers of Europe. Such a course would not be compatible with the peaceful policy of our country, though it seems absurd that we have not the effective means to repel a wanton invasion of our coast, and give protection to our coast towns and cities against any power. The great moral force of our country is so universally recognized as to render an appeal to arms by us, either in protection of our citizens abroad or in recognition of any just international right, quite improbable. What we most need in this direction is a firm and vigorous assertion of every right and privilege belonging to our Government or its citizens, as well as an equally firm assertion of the rights and privileges belonging to the general family of American Republics situated upon this continent, when opposed, if they ever should be, by the different systems of governments upon another continent.

An appeal to the right, by such a Government as ours, could not be disregarded by any civilized nation.

In the Treaty of Washington we led the world to the means of escape from the horrors of war, and it is to be hoped that the era when all international differences shall be decided by peaceful arbitration is not far off.

EQUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

The central idea of a republican form of Government is the rule of the whole people, as opposed to the other forms which rest upon a privileged class.

Our forefathers, in the attempt to erect a new Government, which might represent the advanced thought of the world at that period, upon the subject of governmental reform, adopted the

idea of the people's sovereignty, and thus laid the basis of our present Republic. While technically a government of the people, it was in strictness only a government of a portion of the people, excluding from all participation a certain other portion held in a condition of absolutely despotic and hopeless servitude, the parallel to which fortunately does not now exist in any modern Christian nation.

With the culmination, however, of another cycle of advanced thought, the American Republic suddenly assumed the full character of a government of the whole people, and four million human creatures emerged from the condition of bondsmen to the full status of freemen, theoretically invested with the same social and political rights possessed by their former masters. The subsequent legislation which guaranteed by every legal title the citizenship, and full equality before the law in all respects, of this previously disfranchised people, amply covers the requirements, and secures to them, so far as legislation can, the privileges of American citizenship. But the disagreeable fact of the case is, that while, theoretically, we are in the enjoyment of a government of the whole people, practically we are almost as far from it as we were in the ante-bellum days of the Republic. There are but a few leading and indisputable facts which cover the whole statement of the case. In many of the Southern States the colored population is in large excess of the white. The colored people are Republicans, as is also a considerable portion of the white people. The remaining portion of the latter are Democrats. In the face of this incontestable truth, these States invariably return Democratic majorities. In other States of the South, the colored people, although not a majority, form a very considerable body of the population, and with the white Republicans are numerically in excess of the Democrats, yet precisely the same political result obtains—the Democratic party invariably carrying the elections. It is not even thought advisable to allow an occasional or unimportant election to be carried by the Republicans as a “blind,” or as a stroke of *finesse*.

Careful and impartial investigation has shown these results to follow the systematic exercise of physical intimidation and vio-

lence, conjoined with the most shameful devices ever practiced in the name of free elections. So confirmed has this result become, that we are brought face to face with the extraordinary political fact, that the Democratic party of the South relies almost entirely upon the methods stated for its success in National elections.

This unlawful perversion of the popular franchise, which I desire to state dispassionately and in a manner comporting with the proper dignity of the occasion, is one of deep gravity to the American people in a double sense.

First. It is a violation, open, direct, and flagrant, of the primary principle upon which our Government is supposed to rest, viz., that the control of the Government is participated in by all legally qualified citizens, in accordance with the plan of popular government that majorities must rule in the decision of all questions.

Second. It is in violation of the rights and interests of the States wherein are particularly centered the great wealth and industries of the Nation, and which pay an overwhelming portion of the National taxes. The immense aggregation of interests embraced within, and the enormously greater population of, these other States of the Union, are subjected every four years to the dangers of a wholly fraudulent show of numerical strength. Under this system, minorities actually attempt to direct the course of National affairs, and though, up to this time, success has not attended their efforts to elect a President, yet success has been so perilously imminent as to encourage a repetition of the effort at each quadrennial election, and to subject the interests of an overwhelming majority of our people, North and South, to the hazards of illegal subversion.

The stereotyped argument in refutation of these plain truths is, that if the Republican element was really in the majority, they could not be deprived of their rights and privileges by a minority, but neither statistics of population nor the unavoidable logic of the situation can be overridden or escaped. The colored people have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors; they had had but few of the advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites.

As I have heretofore mentioned, in order to achieve the ideal

of perfection of a popular government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This proposition applies itself with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages, and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people. In the meantime it is the duty of the National Government to go beyond resolutions and declarations on the subject, and to take such action as may lie in its power to secure the absolute freedom of National elections everywhere, to the end that our Congress may cease to contain members representing fictitious majorities of their people,—thus misdirecting the popular will concerning National legislation,—and especially to the end that in Presidential contests the great business and other interests of the country may not be placed in fear and trembling lest an unscrupulous minority should succeed in stifling the wishes of the majority.

In accordance with the spirit of the last resolution of the Chicago platform, measures should be taken at once to remedy this great evil.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

Under our liberal institutions the subjects and citizens of every nation have been welcomed to a home in our midst, and, on compliance with our laws, to a co-operation in our Government. While it is the policy of the Republican party to encourage the oppressed of other nations and offer them facilities for becoming useful and intelligent citizens in the legal definition of the term, the party has never contemplated the admission of a class of servile people who are not only unable to comprehend our institutions, but indisposed to become a part of our National family or to embrace any higher civilization than their own. To admit such immigrants would be only to throw a retarding element into the very path of our progress. Our legislation should be amply protective against this danger, and if not sufficiently so now,

should be made so to the full extent allowed by our treaties with friendly powers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The subject of civil-service administration is a problem that has occupied the earnest thought of statesmen for a number of years past, and the record will show that toward its solution many results of a valuable and comprehensive character have been attained by the Republican party since its accession to power. In the partisan warfare made upon the latter with the view of weakening it in the public confidence, a great deal has been alleged in connection with the abuse of the civil service, the party making the indiscriminate charges seeming to have entirely forgotten that it was under the full sway of the Democratic organization that the motto "to the victors belong the spoils" became a cardinal article in the Democratic creed.

With the determination to elevate our Governmental administration to a standard of justice, excellence, and public morality, the Republican party has sedulously endeavored to lay the foundation of a system which shall reach the highest perfection under the plastic hand of time and accumulating experience. The problem is one of far greater intricacy than appears upon its superficial consideration, and embraces the sub-questions of how to avoid the abuses possible to the lodgment of an immense number of appointments in the hands of the Executive; of how to give encouragement to and provoke emulation in the various Government employees, in order that they may strive for proficiency and rest their hopes of advancement upon the attributes of official merit, good conduct, and exemplary honesty; and how best to avoid the evils of creating a privileged class in the Government service, who, in imitation of European prototypes, may gradually lose all proficiency and value in the belief that they possess a life-calling, only to be taken away in case of some flagrant abuse.

The thinking, earnest men of the Republican party have made no mere wordy demonstration upon this subject, but they have endeavored to quietly perform that which their opponents are constantly promising without performing. Under Republican

rule the result has been that, without engrafting any of the objectionable features of the European systems upon our own, there has been a steady and even rapid elevation of the civil service in all of its departments, until it can now be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that the service is more just, more efficient, and purer in all of its features than ever before since the establishment of our Government; and if defects still exist in our system, the country can safely rely upon the Republican party as the most efficient instrument for their removal.

I am in favor of the highest standard of excellence in the administration of the civil service, and will lend my best efforts to the accomplishment of the greatest attainable perfection in this branch of our service.

THE REMAINING TWIN RELIC OF BARBARISM.

The Republican party came into existence in a crusade against the Democratic institutions of slavery and polygamy. The first of these has been buried beneath the embers of civil war. The party should continue its efforts until the remaining iniquity shall disappear from our civilization under the force of faithfully executed laws.

There are other subjects of importance which I would gladly touch upon did space permit. I limit myself to saying that while there should be the most rigid economy of Governmental administration, there should be no self-defeating parsimony either in our domestic or foreign service. Official dishonesty should be promptly and relentlessly punished. Our obligations to the defenders of our country should never be forgotten, and the liberal system of pensions provided by the Republican party should not be imperiled by adverse legislation. The law establishing a Labor Bureau, through which the interests of labor can be placed in an organized condition, I regard as a salutary measure. The eight-hour law should be enforced as rigidly as any other. We should increase our navy to a degree enabling us to amply protect our coast lines, our commerce, and to give us a force in foreign waters which shall be a respectable and proper representative of a country like our own. The public lands

belong to the people, and should not be alienated from them; but reserved for free homes for all desiring to possess them; and, finally, our present Indian policy should be continued and improved upon as our experience in its administration may from time to time suggest. I have the honor to subscribe myself, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

*To the Hon. JOHN B. HENDERSON,
Chairman of the Committee.*

Since his nomination General Logan has traveled across the continent from the headwaters of the Mississippi to Maine, and the popular demonstrations wherever he has appeared have shown that the enthusiasm with which the announcement of his selection for Vice-President was received was not a mere temporary ebullition. Soon after the Convention he made a visit to Maine, attending various gatherings in company with his colleague on the ticket, responding happily on each occasion, at Augusta, Bangor, and other places, enhancing the high estimation in which he was previously held by the citizens of the Pine Tree State. Later, he attended the annual reunion of the Grand Army of the Republic at Minneapolis, Minn. His journey through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the Western States was a continuous ovation. At Pittsburg, Alliance, Canton, Massillon, Wooster, and other towns on the road, men, women and children clambered into the train to shake the General's hand, while vast crowds upon the outside kept up a continual cheering and waving of handkerchiefs. In Minnesota he was received with an enthusiasm which knew no bounds at the hands of the people, and 60,000 veterans of the war assembled at the encampment.

After his return to the East he visited New York City, in August, stopping at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. The chief clerk at this famous house remarked to the writer during General Logan's visit that he had entertained Presidents,

foreign princes, queens of the Opera, and stars of the literary and histrionic worlds by the score, but he had never known a guest to whom one-half the cards had been sent that were carried to General Logan. He declared that there was a continuous reception at the General's rooms from the time he arrived until his departure. Another thing he remarked was, that a card was never sent up to which the General did not respond: "Show him up."

Leaving New York City, he passed through central New York, visiting at the home of Senator Warner Miller, and going on to the Chautauqua assembly, where he was presented to an audience of 10,000 people in the amphitheater, and spoke as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There is certainly enough in this audience to inspire any one who is capable of addressing you in an appropriate and proper manner. In that I certainly would fail were I to attempt it. In man's economy there are wastes, and the waste of time is one of them. Some years ago men of sufficient breadth, judgment, and views were found to provide for that waste in an appropriate and efficient way in the organization of this assembly, so that the time of rest, the time which might pass away without benefit should be used to advantage, and here, now, on this beautiful spot of ground, near this lovely lake of Chautauqua, amidst the tall elms and wide-spreading beeches, we find the assembled thousands meeting to enjoy a great moral and intellectual feast, the influences of which ramify through every portion of this Republic. Here you have lectures on the arts, the sciences, literature, philosophy, and religion, sending out their influence like the little rivulets that flow out from here to form the broad ocean of moral sentiment that surrounds this great people, the great benefits, extent, and power of which I am not competent to express.

In all governments and countries, in the exercise of authority, in the making of laws, in the execution of the same, there ought

to go along, hand in hand with them, that moral sentiment which will make our Nation finer and gentler in dealing with our fellow-men. [Applause.] I came to this place this evening after many promises to myself that I should visit and see the good people that assemble here. I am glad that I have made the visit, and thank you for your kindly greeting. I shall go away with remembrances that shall last long. When I return to my home I shall remember the lesson that this visit has taught me; that is, that there are no periods of leisure belonging to man that may not be utilized for his benefit.

Continuing on his journey home to Chicago, he was greeted with the same manifestations of popular favor at Buffalo and other places along the route.

General Logan's arrival in Chicago, August 23, was marked by a demonstration of great magnitude. He reached the Twenty-second Street depot at 9 o'clock at night, and found awaiting him an immense throng of enthusiastic people, whose cheers were blended with the refrain of "Hail to the Chief," from various military bands. There were fifteen thousand men in line with torches, and after the distinguished Senator had been placed in a carriage by the citizens' reception committee, the procession took up its line of march northward to the Lake Front park, where he addressed an audience of thousands of people upon the issues of the campaign. He held the crowd for nearly two hours, being interrupted repeatedly by tumultuous expressions of approval. He said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF ILLINOIS: I am somewhat travel-worn by my circuitous route from the cherished capital of the Nation to my native State and my beloved home. The love for home association is deeply imbedded in our hearts. It was on this, my native soil, that my boyish pride was encouraged up to the ordinary ambitions of manhood, and if I have or can serve my constituency fairly and well in the advancement of

their interests, my fondest aspirations and hopes will have ripened into a most cherished reality. My heart beats in harmony with yours in all that pertains to our common humanity and to our common citizenship. I made a vow when I first entered public life to devote all my energies to the interests of our whole people, and to look for my reward in the consciousness that I had kept the faith. I shall ever remember this great evidence of respect with a heart overflowing with gratitude. I return to you, my friends and fellow-citizens, my thanks for this grand demonstration, and as it means much more than a mere personal compliment to myself, being a recognition of the great principles which I have been chosen, in connection with one of our greatest and most brilliant American statesman, in part to represent, I deem it proper at this time to examine some of the questions that divide the great parties of this country.

The Democratic party controlled this Government, with only a few intervals, from 1837 to 1861, and during those twenty-four years there was only one important measure enacted in accord with its financial policy now remaining upon the statute books—viz., the independent treasury system. Its financial policies in all other respects have failed, and have been abandoned by the country. The doctrine of State sovereignty, by which the Nation was to be subordinated to the individual States, is now repudiated by the people. Under this doctrine the Southern half of the Democracy entered into a gigantic rebellion against the Government. While the majority of the Democrats of the North were loyal to the Government, a great many of their organizations sympathized with the South. In 1860, when the Democrats lost control of the Government, they left it financially wrecked. The people were disheartened, and the country was almost in ruins. Their financial ideas and tariff policy had brought the Nation to its lowest level, without credit and almost without hope in the future. If we may judge them by their record up to that time, there is no ground for the belief that they could now so manage the affairs of the Republic as to meet the present demands of the people. * * *

General Logan then proceeded to discuss the financial policy established by the Republican party, under which, he claimed, the evils heretofore experienced under the Democratic system had disappeared. The perpetuation of the system should be left in the hands of its friends rather than committed to its enemies. In periods of depression, he declared, the Democratic party was always ready to recklessly seize hold of almost any quack system for the payment of the public debt, and for the temporary relief of the country, although its adoption could only work permanent disaster. Speaking of the tariff, he said the history of the Democratic party showed that on the subject of protection, its course would be extremely dangerous if it ever obtained the power. The theory of the Democratic party that the market price of the products of this country should be governed by the cost of like products in the mother countries would, if allowed to be consummated, bring the manufacturing of the country to an end. He then reviewed what he termed the Republican American protective system, and claimed that it had fostered the wealth of the nation until now the aggregate of all the property had reached the sum of forty-four billions of dollars, an increase of thirty billions in twenty years of Republican administration; whether this was to be attributed to the Republican policy or not, it was evident the country had never enjoyed such great prosperity or advanced in all things pertaining to the highest civilization, as it had since the Republicans came into power, and adopted its American policy. The free trade theory he described as the Democratic-English policy. He claimed that the commerce of the country under the management of the Government by the Republican party had caused our exports to increase to more than twelve billion dollars, all of which had been produced by American labor.

He closed with the following peroration :

To whose hands, then, will you intrust all these responsibilities? To the hands of those who have hitherto believed in these principles and purposes, and who still stand by them, or to the hands of those who have hitherto failed to preserve and at this time almost utterly disregard them? Whether you will hand them over to those who, when hitherto tried, miserably failed you; to those untried in dealing with the momentous issues now before the country, or whether you will not rather intrust them to those in whose keeping they have ever been safe, are important questions for you now to determine.

If the people of this country want a man to guide this Nation in the direction of peace, prosperity, and happiness; if they want the man who has been faithful to his country in the time of its trials; the man who stood by it loyally through all its misfortunes and adversities; the man who has grown in wisdom drawn from a vast experience; the man who is known in diplomacy and statecraft wherever our flag floats or the name of our country is mentioned; the man with great strength of intellect, with indomitable will, and the courage of his convictions; the man of generous heart as well as brilliant intellect; the man in whose hands every American interest will be absolutely safe and undeniably secure; this man, my fellow-citizens, the people will find in the nominee of the Republican party for President of the United States—the Hon. James G. Blaine.

Before he completed his address the audience became so great that General Oglesby, Governor Hamilton, Senator Culom, Clark E. Carr, and other distinguished citizens of Illinois spoke to portions of the crowd on the outskirts, which General Logan's voice was unable to reach, so vast was the assemblage.

We have thus traced the career of this remarkable man from boyhood to the position he has won by his own endeavors, aided only by the generous gifts of Nature, and leave him in the fullness of his achievements in the past, and with the bright promise of his bountiful future.

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Christian Advocate.

No abler, truer man, no man of loftier instincts or higher culture, has ever gone to that office. His life has been an example to the patriotic youth of his country.
Independent.

He was a man of the people, sprung from the ranks of the homespun farmers and mechanics, yet in culture the peer of the statesmen and scholars of the world.
Examiner and Chronicle.

He will now always remain one of the saints of American story, without a stain on the whiteness of his garments, one of the few Presidents who have left the White House amid universal reverence and regret.
Nation.

THE thought which will come sooner or later to all, and when it comes will abide, is, that after all character is the main thing, the most precious possession, the surest power, the noblest legacy, the most enduring fame.
Boston Advertiser.

He was not a mere political servant; he was not afraid to speak and to vote in opposition to his own party, under conviction of duty and right.
Presbyterian Banner.

NEVER did the voice of the people summon to the Presidency a man in whom the religious people of this country had higher confidence and hope.
Presbyterian.

EMPERORS and kings, senates and ministers, are in spirit his pall-bearers; but their peoples, from the highest to the lowest, claim to be equally visible and audible as sorrowing assistants.
London Times.

OUR prayer "God save the President!" has been answered. He has saved him in a higher sense, and to a more glorious destiny, than that which we meant in the use of the word.
Christian Intelligencer.

THE late President was a brave general and helped to win victories on the battle-fields, but in his suffering and death is a greater conquerer than if he had subdued the armies of the world.
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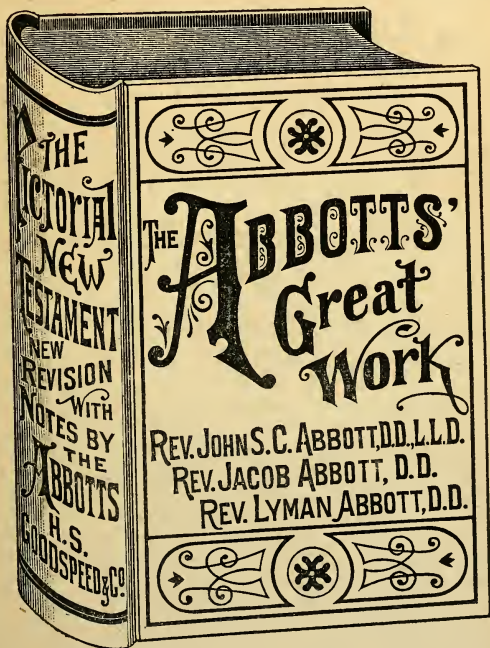
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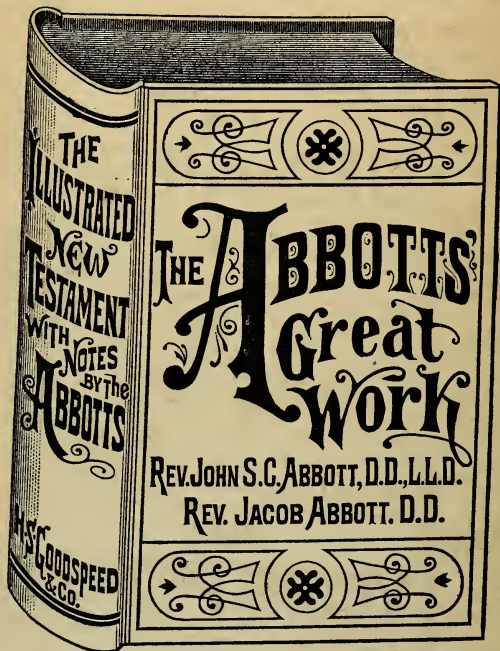
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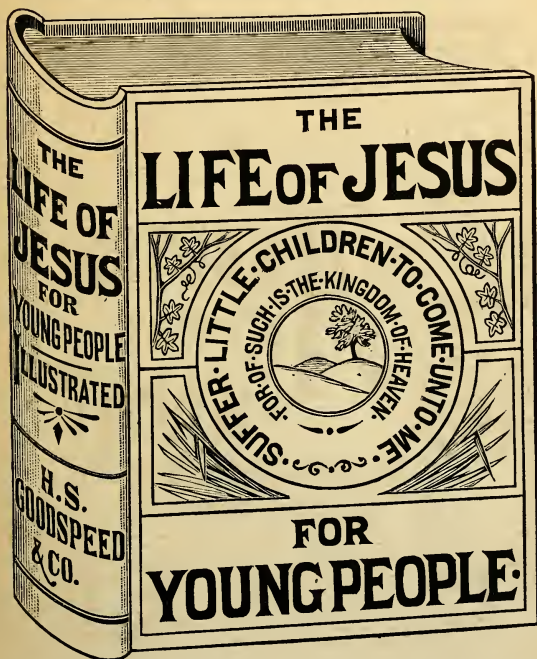
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